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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

IDENTITY AND IDENTITY TRANSITION

BY

DENNIS BRAY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1990

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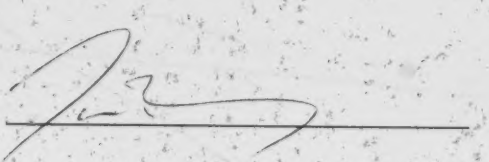

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DATE: 31 August 1990

To my Father, Corporal B.L. Bray
.....who spent his career in the Royal Navy
and the Royal Canadian Air Force

To my Father-In-Law, Chief Inspector P.T. Broady
.....who spent his career in the Royal Navy
and the Kent County Police Force

.....and to all those who spent a life of service

IDENTITY AND IDENTITY TRANSITION

ABSTRACT

A review of the literature pertaining to identity and identity theory produced little consensus as to what identity is. Identity transition is an accepted focus but as to what is transformed has received little mention.

This paper attempts to develop an understanding of what it is, in relation to identity, that is central to identity transformation. To this end, depth interviews were conducted with retired military personnel. It was believed this would provide a sample who had undergone a sense of shared and similar experience.

The analysis of the data takes a phenomenological approach employing the phenomenological technique as outlined by Merleau-Ponty. Each of the stages of analysis is described in full detail so as to provide the reader with a sense of the progress of the transition as it was experienced by the subject. The section related to military identity and the transition from military to civilian life concludes with general categories of the military experience as they are continued in civilian life.

In the concluding chapter, an evaluation of existing theory as it pertains to identity is presented in summarized form and an alternative approach is offered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE OF THE PROJECT

This study belongs to that body of sociology related to the concept of identity. The relationship between sociology and the concept of identity need not be elaborated at this point since it becomes evident in the review of the literature. At this point, it is sufficient to say that there is a lack of consensus within the existing body of literature as to what constitutes 'identity' and identity theory.

The purpose of this study is to determine a fundamental basis of identity from which future comparisons of identity classifications could be made, and an understanding of the subjective world of a particular group be documented. This becomes possible if we accept that identity is expressed in situations. Situations for individuals arise whenever something has a direct bearing at a certain moment on the total life of the individual. The situation arises from the way an individual must relate to his or her present milieu and

understand it. In the social world, the main source of situations arises from relationships with others. Elements of identity can be drawn from situations since we can talk of certain groups of people sharing a situation, for example, occupational types, ethnic groups, deviant groups, etc.

To generate data for this particular study, interviews were conducted with individuals who have experienced long term military careers and are now living a civilian life. By examining a category of individuals who have shared homogeneous biographies and, at a point in their personal histories, have each been forced into a different milieu, it is hoped to construct a more universal concept of identity, one that may offer an opportunity to refine and evaluate existing theory as related to identity and life transitions.

THE APPROACH OF THE STUDY

This task will be approached from a phenomenological perspective. Briefly, the emphasis of phenomenology is on the interface of being and consciousness. Concern is with the descriptive delineation of what presents itself to consciousness. The phenomenon is the world as it is

experienced from a particular point of view. It is the contention here that it is that particular 'point of view', that interface between being and consciousness, that constitutes identity, as it is drawn from the totality of experience.

The particular case employed as an exemplifier for this analysis is retired military personnel. The method employed describes the structure of the mode of experience of those who have undergone the transition from long term military careers to civilian life. This structure of experience is intended to reflect the paradigmatic value given to experience. To do so, it is necessary to expose the a priori structures of human experience by revealing the most fundamental axioms of experience. Through the process of reduction, those aspects of belief which distract attention from the actual structure of experience will be suspended. In this way, experience, as related to identity, will be described as it is given to consciousness. An immediate ramification of this method is the recognition that the essence precedes existence. It is through phenomenological description that essences are shown to be primordially given to our consciousness.

This analysis is also based on the assumption that the reader accepts the categorical world as a changing entity. That is, in reference to identity, the self may change and the indexed reality may change. However, that level of experience which remains the least changed is identity and it exerts a continual influence. The perception of reality then, is ultimately constructed by the actor and there is a dialectic relationship between the actor and his subjectively constructed reality.

However, we are not dealing strictly with the definition of the situation by the actor but precede this level of investigation so as to be concerned with the process of the interpretation of the situation rather than remaining on the empirically simple level. In doing so, the investigation is not limited to the radical constructionism of Garfinkel's method, nor is the reader left adrift in multiple levels of reality so often inherent in the works of Goffman. What is sought is the interpretive ontology, not the interpretation itself.

This however, is not to be confused with the objectives of Hume or Kant. The crucial issue of reality is not addressed, rather the reality and consequences of the ability and products of interpretation constitute the focus.

CASE SELECTION

In accordance with the requirements outlined above - that the self may change and indexed reality may change while something remains constant - it is necessary to focus on disjunctive biographies and the dialectic relationship which changes or remains stable throughout the disjunctive episode.

Some clarification is necessary at this point. Subjectivity exists only by virtue of a dialectic relationship with reality. In terms of individuals, the dialectic is expressed by the ability of the individual to change existing reality into their own environment and to use this as a reference to meaning. This meaning gives being to the individual and, reciprocally, the individual constitutes the meaning. The individual here is not only part of the dialectic relationship but is also placed at the centre in as much as meaning becomes meaning-for-the-irdividual. With meaning being reliant on this relationship, the individual alone is never an absolute reality but is always located in a situation and continually influenced by an environment.

For the most part, and for most individuals, the bases of identity are relatively stable and homogeneous.

While there may be long term evolutionary trends for all individuals in terms of their identities, the undertaking of such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. What is necessary for the purpose of expediency is a consistent occurrence of pathological conditions. This occurs when there is a weakening of some of the constituent parts which have been related to the notion of identity. For example, when the personal sense of identity is not matched by adequate social constituents of identity (Goffman 1968a) or when there are conditions of social disorder in which the individual's social identity may be felt to be in question, as is the individual who is situated on an identity boundary.

To comply with this requirement of change the case for this analysis will consist of individuals who have left long term military careers and entered into civilian life. At its best, this will represent the transition of individuals so well integrated in a social order that there has been all but total dissolution of personal identity, to a situation that allows for the free creation of an identity. That is, in the extreme, from a structured group comprised of institutions, rites of passage and rituals which shape all aspects of identity, the likes identified by Goffman (1968), to a society

based on the diverse options of individualistic identity formation, as outlined in Garfinkel's "Agnes" (1967).

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

To pursue this objective requires that this paper be separated into distinct parts: a literature review related to identity; a literature review related to military identity; the methodology of the study; the analysis of the collected data and; the conclusion evaluating the findings.

METHODOLOGY

Before turning to the literature review, explanation regarding the logic of the sections and their respective conclusions is necessary. To provide such requires that the explanation begin with a discussion of the methodological technique. This will elaborate on the phenomenological technique in general and provide insight as to the necessity of the two levels of reading required of each literature review. This discussion is lengthy and appears illogically placed but it is necessary for reasons which are made apparent.

Martin Heidegger (1972: 51) noted "...the expression 'phenomena' signifies that which shows itself in itself, the manifest". The question is how do we get to phenomena themselves, the objective of phenomenology.

The first step is called the epoché. This means to suspend or step back from the ordinary way of looking. In doing so we set aside our usual assumptions. Within this general stance, particular levels of abstraction are determined. These levels are termed phenomenological reductions. Epochés or phenomenological reductions then provide the shape or the focus of inquiry, in this case, a phenomenological inquiry into identity.

The phenomenological reduction does not detach one from the world but forces a focus upon the world as it is primordially experienced before the ontological status of the world is affirmed or denied. In making these reductions there is an explicit assumption. That is, since experience provides our relationship with the world - our view of the world - the phenomenological description shows the world not necessarily as it really is, but as it is in the only way it can be known in that instance and as it is presented to consciousness at that instant.

To engage in phenomenological reduction requires that rules be established. The first rule is to attend to the phenomena of experience as they appear. This requires that we limit ourselves to description, and exclude explanation. To describe phenomenon phenomenologically (and to exclude explanation) means to select a domain for inclusion and a domain for exclusion. Explanation, for the purpose of exclusion, consists of any theory, concept or idea that attempts to give reason for the phenomena and that which attempts to account for phenomena in terms other than those by which the phenomena appears. It is essential that explanation be excluded so as to establish a field of purely present experience. Focus must be on experience as it shows itself.

According to Husserl, we need to look not just at particularities but also for essential features, the 'essences', of phenomena. Essences refer to the structural features or invariants that are located within the phenomena. For Husserl, intentionality was that structure and precisely that feature of experience which made possible the way in which phenomena appear. In as much, intentionality is that which allows for the possibility of all experience to be shaped in a certain

way. Here 'shape' should be emphasized since we are dealing with the shape of experience. Succinctly, intentionality is the 'directional shape' of experience, it acts as a correlational rule, a correlational a priori. Intentionality then is that level which founds all other levels.

The concept of intentionality allows us to extend fully and make universal the latent elements of the descriptive procedure. To accomplish this task requires the direct analysis of naive descriptions of personal experiences. It is also necessary that these descriptions be of situations that are recognizable as belonging to everyday life.

The phenomenological analysis of these naive descriptions requires four essential steps:

1. a reading of the entire description for the purpose of getting a general sense of the whole statement

2. a rereading with the specific aim of grasping 'meaning units' from within a sociological perspective and with a focus on identity (the phenomena being researched)

3. the direct expression of the sociological insights contained within the meaning units. Here we make thematic the subjects' perceptions

4. a synthesis of the meaning units into a consistent statement regarding the subjects' experience

These four points will be elaborated in the chapter pertaining to methods. For now, it was necessary to present them in concise form so as to provide the reader with a basis for the logic of the presentation of this thesis.

LITERATURE REVIEW PERTAINING TO IDENTITY THEORY

Step two in the analysis requires a familiarity with the concepts related to sociological analysis of identity as it pertains to this particular study. These are presented in the literature review pertaining to identity theory. The application of these concepts to the naive description is done with the assumption that sociological reality is constituted by sociologists, and that the description provided in step one could just as easily lend itself to an anthropological or psychological

analysis. In as much, the literature review will guide the reader as to the direction taken in the analysis. The literature review should also serve the function of providing the reader with a 'set' that deals specifically with the analysis of identity. This acts to establish limits and controls of the analysis and assists in thematizing only a particular aspect of a more complex reality, the requirements of step three.

In step three meaning units are correlated with that which is essentially sociological, representing a transformation in the direction of 'sociological reality'. Finally, in a more conventional tone, the review of the literature acquaints the reader with the possibilities of identity and points to the inherent inconsistencies and weaknesses in existing explanation and theory.

LITERATURE REVIEW PERTAINING TO THE MILITARY EXPERIENCE

Since we are dealing with instances of changed or changing identity, it is also necessary to deal with the relationship of identity and the past. This part of the analysis can only be assumed through existing documentation since the situation in which the individual

was situated no longer exists for that individual. A peculiarity of this body of literature is then the fact that much of it must be dated to correspond with that time when the individual was pursuing a military career. This is a deliberate attempt to provide a sense of experience of those individuals who participated in that experience.

SUMMARY

It is hoped that by providing reference to both of the above bodies of literature, one dealing with identity theory and one dealing with life in the military, the reader will become acquainted with those sociological abstractions and those personal experiences of individuals, respectively, that point to the primordial mode of identity through which the world is presented to consciousness and a paradigmatic view is given to experience.

Following the literature reviews, the methodology will be explained in detail. This will be followed by an analysis of the data. The analysis itself begins in a somewhat tedious manner in an effort to provide the reader with a full sense of the project. Following the

analysis, two sets of conclusions will be drawn, one with respect to the experiences of the subjects and one with respect to the phenomenological approach to the study of identity.

CHAPTER 2

IDENTITY THEORY

INTRODUCTION

As stated in chapter one, this review of the literature is to serve more than one purpose:

1. to point to the inherent weaknesses in current theoretical perspectives towards identity (It should be noted here that the focus of this study, and therefore of the literature review, is limited to a micro perspective. The omission of literature pertaining to the macro perspective is deliberate since its inclusion would only serve to confuse the issue at hand.)

2. the second purpose of the literature review pertaining to identity theory is to sensitize the reader to the 'possibilities' of identity, that is, to the perspectives one may take and the criteria that has been employed in other studies. This is necessary to enable the reader to share in the experience of

phenomenological reduction.

3. since we are involved in the process of creating sociological reality, this literature review also serves to locate identity within the realm of sociological investigation. In this sense, the reader is immersed in the nomenclature of sociological identity theory.

These objectives will not be demonstrated in that particular order, since the coherentness of the discussion demands a somewhat chronological approach to organization.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE EMERGENCE OF IDENTITY THEORY WITHIN THE SOCIOLOGICAL PARADIGM[1]

There is a history of ambiguity and interrelationship between the concepts of self and identity. Since this research deals with identity, the distinction needs to be made clear.[2] The concept of identity has many operational definitions which can be associated with particular theoretical definitions, several of which can be assigned equal status.

The foundations of the concept of identity have a long tradition within sociology. William James (1890), drawing from Descartes, Hume, Locke and Kant, made the distinction between the self as subject (the 'I') and the self as object (the 'Me'). Of the self, James differentiated four aspects:

the spiritual self:	which entails thinking and feeling
the material self:	which entails those "material possessions" we have
the social self:	which entails reference to those individuals and groups about whose opinions we care
the bodily self:	which entails the physical organism

James then undertook to list those features which differentiated one individual from the next. In doing so, he demonstrated how the process of knowing the features of self had a similarity with the process of evaluation of the features of self. The distinctions, or

oppositions, listed by James, are evident in the work of his successors:

self-concept	vs	self-evaluation
self-as-subject	vs	self-as-object
social-self	vs	spiritual-self
real-self	vs	ideal-self

One of James's successors, Mead (1934), accepting the 'I' and 'Me' as given, investigated the process of the evaluation of the distinction between I and Me.[3] Mead saw the self as developing out of its relationship to generalized others. Generalized others consisted of an individual's apprehensions of those around that individual. Briefly, Mead differentiated between the I and the Me by assigning them different operational contexts; me being prominent in social interchange and I being prominent in individual assertations against a given situation and giving the individual the opportunity to express uniqueness.[4] The Me then, according to Mead's evaluation, is essentially a social construction sharing a sense of James's social self.

'Identity' begins with the work of Erik Erikson. Erikson, in neo-Freudian tradition, studied the processes

of ego synthesis in critical moments and under conditions of breakdown. Incorporating the polarity of human nature and social reality, Erikson reformulated Freud's ethos and ego as "group identity" and "ego identity" (Erikson 1946, 1956). Although his earlier work lacked definitional and theoretic elaboration, it did include the concepts of inner identity, identity diffusion and wholeness, ethnic group identities, psycho-social identity, and the development of identity over the life course. It was not until "The Problem of Ego Identity" (1956) that Erikson offered conceptual clarification. Here he emphasized ego identity in a social psychological context in as much as he determined it to be a functioning psychological achievement of the individual that was limited by, as well as adapted to, the socio-historic moment of the individual, a formulation of a social psychoanalytic psychology.

This link between psychological reality and socio-historical events attracted the attention of members of the interactionist tradition of American pragmatism. Foote (1951) had been working towards the same conclusion. He interpreted human motivation as a consequence of identification with a group. However, while acknowledging Freud and stating his indebtedness to

Mead's social behaviourism, Foote did not cite Erikson. Foote too, fell short of providing clear conceptual boundaries and described identity simply as a "wandering" theme that united individual experience (Foote 1955).

Lynd (1958, 1961) and Wheelis (1958) both acknowledged the individual need for a sense of social-psychological well being and its implications for the notion of identity. Wheelis however used identity "in its ordinary lay meaning" (Wheelis 1958: 247) while Lynd made it problematic and utilized identity as an analytic tool. In doing so, Lynd influenced the transition from the emphasis on the psychoanalytic tradition of identity to a more sociological psychology.

The major impetus for making identity a central concern for sociological psychology however was the work of Strauss (1959). From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, Strauss made identity a technical term, emphasizing the influences of language, naming and interaction, but failed to formulate an adequate depiction of identity as an interactional reality. For Strauss, identity was the result of self appraisals, by self an by others, social placements and social evaluations, and events of the life course.

Goffman (1956, 1959) shared the same concerns but without incorporating identity as a technical term. His emphasis was on social performance. The nature of his work incorporated the use of the concept of self and demonstrated the continuance of the conceptual ambiguity between the use of self and identity in similar analysis.

At about the same time as Goffman was working within the qualitative approach, Kuhn worked towards a quantitative and positivistic approach that retained the central issues of Meadian social psychology. He introduced the "Who AM I?" test and the "Twenty Statements Test" as instruments to be used in self\identity theory. (Kuhn and McPartland 1954)

Stone (1962), writing from the symbolic interactionist perspective, was perhaps the first to offer a concise definition of identity. According to Stone, identity is a meaning that self acquires when "'situated' - that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations." (1962: 93). Stone also emphasized change, stating that identity is "intrinsically associated with all the joinings and departures of social life" (1962: 94).

In discussing appearances as the situational foundation for identity, Stone had presented the theme which Goffman (1963) adopted to deal explicitly with identity. Goffman emphasized the distinction between "self-identity" and "ego or felt" identity. For him, ego identity referred to the "subjective sense of his own situation and his own continuity and character that an individual comes to obtain as a result of his various social experiences." (1963: 105). In as much, Goffman raised the subjective dimension of identity to the analytic level of sociological psychology.

McCall and Simmons (1966), demonstrating an indebtedness to Kuhn, took yet another approach to the analysis of identity, linking identity with role theory as well as interactionism. They stated as their emphasis "'role-identity' which is: The character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position." (1966: 67) Their understanding of identity is drawn from both Strauss (1959) and Goffman (1959, 1963).

Klapp (1969), relying on Erikson, Strauss, Stone and Goffman, combined the perspective of collective behaviour and social movements with the conceptual efforts of identity theorists. For Klapp, the need for identity was

the crucial issue. In effect, Klapp, by introducing a marriage of collective behaviour and identity theory put identity in the realm of the extra-institutional.

Lofland (1969) looked at the processes and consequences of deviant identities, the negative side of the dialectic of institutional meaning. He too took a symbolic interactionist approach to the study of identity.

It was not until 1968 that 'identity theory' was used as a label proper. Stryker introduced it with an overriding emphasis on quantitative science. He took the approach of "structural interactionism", linking attribution theory and ethnomethodology (Guiot 1977; Hadden and Lester 1978).

Burke (1980), continuing in the tradition of Stryker, conceptualized identity as the subjective component of role where the self is simply interrelated role identities. Burke also raised the issue of hierarchies of multiple identities and their relative salience in the construction of self.

Weigert, Teitge and Teitge (1986) emphasized process, assigned identity to various levels of existence where the personal, or subjective, and the public, or objective, dimensions operate as a dialectic process.

According to them, the sense of personal identity decreases as the sense of social identity increases and vice versa. A movement to either extreme would result in the loss of identity at the other end of the continuum, making everyday interaction a difficult task.

Harré (1983) assigned identity a transcendental quality. This stands in contrast to the sense of personal identity founded in the social world, pointing to the sense of identity as stemming from individual experience. That is, it points to the orig'n of the notion of selfhood and personal identity in private and personal matters rather than in public and social interaction.

PERCEIVED WEAKNESSES AND LIMITATIONS IN CURRENT THEORY RELATED TO IDENTITY

Goffman (1959, 1967), as well as many role theorists extend the distinction between components of identity to a logical extreme. The basis of this argument is that people adopt and shed role at whim. In order to accept this perspective, all concern for what the actor is - what state of being the actor resides in - during times when no role is required must be ignored. Accordingly,

the individual can be determined to be no more than a conglomeration of roles, a rather superficial approach that addresses only the symptoms and consequences of identity. This conclusion, that the self must always be social is often drawn (McCall and Simmons 1966; Stryker 1964; Turner 1970).

It is often the case that identity as a theoretical abstract and identity as a phenomenon are confused. The fact that people possess identities is a phenomenon that has received little attention from within the disciplinary boundaries of sociology and sociological psychology.

This raises the issue of whether both personal identities and social identities exist in the strict sense of the terms. Simply stated, the answer and distinction is clear: social identity is the component of self that is associated with group membership and personal identity is that part of the self that exists independent of role determinants. But, as Hollis (1977) points out, "The problem is to make personal identity personal and social identity identity." since there is a problem defining personal identity except in terms of social contexts and social histories. If this is the case then social identity says little about identity

since it is merely the crystallization of a series of roles and relationships presented in a sociologically constructed reality. Implicitly, anyone occupying similar or same roles could be attributed with the same identity.

We can answer the question of whether both personal and social identities exist by approaching it from two levels of analysis, the theoretical and the phenomenological. At the theoretical level, the solution is relatively simple. A semantic boundary is drawn between the two and the distinction is simply a matter of definition. At the phenomenological level, it is necessary to determine if individuals experience both social and personal identities. Turner (1976) concluded that people do indeed experience both levels of identity. Social identities can be construed as templates for self-conception and personal identities as the residue of the accommodation to an assimilation of social identities. The evolutionary process of identity can then be presented in a dialectical fashion. The personal identity in the here and now is the product of the interaction between all past personal identities and all past and present social identities. Social identity in the here and now is the product of the interaction of all

past social identities with all past and current personal identities. From this perspective, the dichotomy between personal and social identities becomes subordinate to the process of adaptation and influence in which personal and social identities can simply be assigned as labels in an attempt to delineate the phenomenon of identity.

To perceive of a sense of personal identity the individual must perceive of personal experiences as constituting a personal unity. This requires experiential continuity. According to Hampshire (1959) individuals experience the world from a particular here and now. As Langford (1978) points out, the sense of self is in response to the way we experience our experiences as unified. The sense of identity then is expressed in a continuous coordination of consciousness and it is identity, in as much as it is identity which provides a sense of meaning to experience, that maintains this sense of coordination. The indexicality of self reference creates a sense of temporal location and provides a reference point for past, present and future experience. This sense of unity requires that the individual has an autobiographical system to which to refer when coordinating the present moment and it is this autobiographical system which presents itself as a

researchable entity.

SUMMARY

In brief, the research reviewed does not emphasize the primary question of the essential meaning of identity. What has been offered are operationalized, common sense conceptions of identity that have often resulted in transparent and ad hoc solutions with an emphasis on theoretical classification.

CHAPTER 3

MILITARY IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

To provide coherence to the review of the literature related to life in the military, we must first define some criteria for the delineation of identity. This is drawn from the work of those authors listed in the previous chapter. Although not a phenomenological approach to the study of identity, it is used since the sources of information available are secondary sources, whereas an analysis of identity from the adopted phenomenological approach of this paper would require primary data sources. Since we are dealing with the effects of past experience, the documentation of the former experience as it occurs must be forsaken and reliance placed in existing data which is extracted according to the criteria outlined below.

Before defining the criteria it is necessary to restate the purpose of this section of the study. First, it is an attempt to provide the reader with an understanding of the military experience so as to assist

the reader in developing a phenomenological understanding of the experience, that is, to immerse the reader into military life as it was experienced by those individuals who have since left the military. To this effect, the literature is dated. Second, this review of the literature makes obvious the contrast between civilian and military life and assists in developing an understanding of why people who have experienced long term military careers experience life as they do. That is, an attempt is made to provide a subjective experience of the individuals' past. Unfortunately, this section is limited by the availability of data which relates to the purpose.

We begin the delineation of necessary criteria with the work of Erikson. According to Erikson (1978) identity 'theory' must include the sociological dynamics of human life which considers both the subjectivation and objectivation of self and the process by which experience is integrated into a continuous totality, as perceived by 'my' real self, in an authentic and plausible life.

Objectifications of self are those variables that are empirically available to contemporary members of a given society occurring at different levels of social reality and based on the relationships between self and

others. These can be loosely defined as existing on five levels: ego, individual, group, organizational, and societal (Goffman 1973; Stone and Faberman 1970; Mol 1976; Teitge and Teitge 1986). Societal objectifications are most general, constituted by the likes of age, gender, etc. Organizational objectifications are devised from the structures of formal institutions and are most commonly apparent in the form of bureaucratic titles. Group objectifications are typically assigned by the group that provides reference realities through associational ties (Schmidt 1972). Individual objectifications are identified through the symbolized individual, most commonly evident in personal names. Finally, ego objectification is that which "is felt, internalized and appropriated, or resisted by the individual..." (Weigert, Teitge and Teitge 1986). This level of objectification is closely associated with the premeaningful reality and the individual experience of self. (However, it implies a conscious awareness.)

THE MILITARY AND THE SOCIETAL LEVEL OF OBJECTIFICATION

This dimension of identity is most general and is constituted by the likes of gender and age. The values

instilled in the recruit in the armed forces run somewhat counter to those of a civilian counterpart. First, the military organization is hierarchical, and does not contain nor claim to contain the egalitarian tendencies which are supposedly characteristic of civilian society in the Western democratic world. Life in the military is also oriented towards the group as opposed to the individual and the freedom of individual expression runs counter to the demands of obedience and discipline. Finally, the empirical indicators such as age and gender are often made subordinate to rank in the military society.

THE MILITARY AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL OF OBJECTIFICATION

This dimension of identity results from the structure of the institution and is most commonly apparent in the form of bureaucratic titles. In the case of the military, this again points to a well defined rank structure, but is not limited to the rank structure. The military society is more encompassing on the day to day existence of its members. The location of the military establishment itself is often semi-isolated from civilian

society. Life for those engaged in a military career is circumscribed by military customs, military rituals, military duties, and social activities that revolve around the military experience. According to Coates and Pellegrin (1965) the "armed forces in peace time become highly organized artificial communities set apart from civilian society." Emphasis is on duty, self sacrifice, discipline and regularity.

THE MILITARY AND THE GROUP LEVEL OF OBJECTIFICATION

This dimension of identity is typically assigned by the group that provides reference through associational ties. Once in the military, the daily rounds of the individual continue as a socialization process. In most cases, other members of the force are the usual choice for companionship and this relationship develops into close friendships.

There is an intense group experience that occurs during the military career. In all dimensions, military life is group life. The individual, when living in barracks for whatever reason, or when in active duty, trains, works, eats and sleeps in a group. Even leisure activities tend to revolve around groups of similar

colleagues whose membership is more often than not comprised of the same group.

The primary group in the military context differs from those encountered in civilian society in two main ways. First, in civilian life it is unlikely that all activities would involve the same group composition, work may be with one group, leisure time with another, and education and training with yet another. Furthermore, it is likely that these activities would also take place in different locations. Second, the goal of the military has no civilian counterpart and therefore, the members of the military have little else to identify with other than military activities and those who participate in those activities.

According to Mandelbaum (1952) there are four reasons that a soldier seeks to form his primary social relations within the military organization. First, the serviceman is able to escape the status that he had been previously assigned in his civilian career. To his new colleagues, what he did before is unimportant. Second, because of the organization of the military, the individual is not only isolated from civilian contact but often denied sustained contact with other groups within the military. Third, life in the military is so distinct

from civilian lifestyles that the soldier cannot rely on civilian society to provide support and may come to favour only the military group for companionship. Finally, there is a functional interdependence among the members of the task unit, leading to somewhat of a closed system. Often, the individual's safety, welfare and success are reliant on his group membership. Within these groups there is a tendency to demand an unquestioned sense of loyalty.

Military life is also a transient life. Being aware of this, the individual comes to realize that his membership to any one group is for a limited duration. As a response, the individual develops the ability to accelerate the development of friendships and to maximize the related opportunities that arise. This general condition fosters rapid formation of primary group associations and at the same time makes known the limits of its duration.

In more recent times these tendencies have been somewhat lessened. It is not imperative now that families reside on the base. This provides for greater interaction with civilian communities but families still undergo frequent relocation. The problem of family mobility is one of major proportion. Not only does it

stifle a sense of community when temporarily immersed in a civilian community but there is also the question of establishing a home. The constant moving requires that each family member becomes accustomed to giving up old friends and establishing new ones.

Most often the spouse and children of the recruit are drawn into the military reality so much so that civilians often appear as the outgroup. Often the wife will identify herself as an army-wife and the children as army-kids. It is implicit that the activities of the family should not interfere with the duties of the soldier. The soldier in all cases is held responsible for the actions of his dependents. A breach in conduct of a family member often results in disciplinary action taken against the soldier himself.

As the military family comes more and more to assimilate the military culture it increasingly relies on the military community as a reference group and consequently becomes increasingly estranged from civilian society. The relationships that develop within the military community tend to be more intimate than those relationships found in civilian society.

THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL OF OBJECTIFICATION

This dimension of identity is found in the symbolized individual, most obviously expressed in personal names. Upon entry into the military, the recruit undergoes the transition from civilian consciousness to military consciousness. During the initiation phase the recruit is, for the most part, ignorant of the rules and regulations that govern military life. This leads to a feeling of insecurity. The intended purpose of the rigid resocialization program is to rid the recruit of civilian affiliations and to facilitate the internalization of a military identity.

August Hollingshead (1946) described the induction process at a U.S. Army induction centre during World War II:

> This phase of the process is difficult to describe since so much happens to a person in such a short time that his reactions tend to be confused and he does not comprehend the changed circumstances and events. Briefly, the man is sworn into service, issued a serial number, which is more important to the War Department than his name, since two or more soldiers may have the same name. Thus, the change from name to a name and a number is one step in the militarization of the person. The civilian clothes are disposed of when the uniform and toilet articles are issued. The new soldier is assigned to a unit, that is, a formal group designated by a letter or a number. This unit is a segment of a still larger unit. He is assigned to a barracks or a tent with the rest

> of his unit. Within the tent or barracks he is assigned to a bed. He is issued everything in this phase of his training according to a definite schedule of allowances, and he signs for all items that are non-expendable and has his expendable items checked against him.

Although modified somewhat, the recent indoctrination processes have been designed to produce the same effect. During basic training the recruit undergoes a program of rigid discipline. At the same time he is forced to endure a lack of privacy and enforced intimacy. As a result, the recruits develop a strong sense of identification among themselves. The basic training leads the individual towards uncritical accommodation and to standardization of performance. For the individual, obedience becomes a permanent trait resulting in passive or apathetic behaviour at the request of superiors and conformity becomes the key to a psychologically endurable life.

THE MILITARY AND THE EGO LEVEL OF OBJECTIFICATION

This dimension of identity is what is consciously felt by the individual. It is what the individual internalizes or resists and is most closely associated with, but not identical to, the other-than-conscious

level of identity. Upon entry into military service the recruit undergoes the transition from civilian consciousness to military consciousness. This is assisted by imposed insecurity. According to Janowitz (1960):

> The realities of the profession pervaded family and social life, and, in turn, the military community was comprehensively organized to assist family relations. The result was not only relative social isolation, since military families tended to have more contact among themselves than with outsiders, but also a powerful esprit de corp among professional officers. The problem of choosing between work and family did not exist. (emphasis added)

There is an experience of loyalty and pride that extends beyond the workplace and permeates all aspects of daily living.

PREVIOUS STUDIES RELATED TO MILITARY RETIREMENT

> When I first put on civilian clothes again, I felt myself to be the cynosure of all eyes. It was much more strange and embarrassing than the first wearing of a uniform had ever been... The first year was the worst. It took all my powers of concentration, all my will power, to keep me at my tasks. It was not that I wanted to do anything else - I did not know what I wanted to do - but I did not want to do what I was doing ... it is this terrible restlessness which

> possesses us like an evil spirit, the indefinite expression of vague discontent, the restlessness of dying men, little children and old soldiers which I fear expresses itself in many inconsistencies.[5]

These are the feelings of a man returning from active duty in World War I and donning civilian clothes and re-entering civilian life. A duration of less than one year of service created this disorientation and emotional disturbance. In any transition from one society to another, from one complex situation to another, identity is put into disarray. This is most often experienced by the individual through emotion and is manifest as anxiety, depression, boredom and general symbolic disarray (Laing 1972). According to Hewitt (1979) problematic situations lead to experiences of doubt as to which identity to present, how to present it, and whether or not and to what extent it is validated.

George Pearson's testimony above clearly indicates an expression of identity confusion. However, those are peculiar circumstances attached to a historical episode. For the most part armed forces careers are served in peace time. In a peace time exit from the service there is no large repatriating and home coming

process. The transition to civilian life is often made alone. This stands in stark contrast to the intense group experience of entering the military. Recognizing this as a potential problem area needing research, a number of authors have approached the topic of military retirement.

McNeil and Giffen (1967) approached the topic using role theory, Milowe (1964) used Erikson's ego theory, Greenburg (1965) suggested depression as an explanation for the experience, Druss (1965) used a combination of social and psychoanalytic theory, Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1979) and Doherty (1982) employed grief theory.

As McNeil (1983: 96) points out "... few studies exist that have attempted to examine the ramifications of military retirement on retirees' personal identities...". Milowe (1964) published the first article that focused upon the mental health aspects of military retirement. However, he directed his attention towards the preretirement phase of retirement based on the unresolved stages of Erikson's stage theory.

Druss (1965) saw military retirement as constituting crisis in two separate but related areas. These areas

were categorized as internal and external. Internal problems were seen as the intrapsychic conflicts of the individual and were determined to be of a neurotic and unrealistic nature. External conflict revolved around the economic and social spheres.

Greenburg (1965) analyzed military retirement within the context of depression. He developed his theory of depression from psychoanalytic theory, suggesting that retirement symbolizes rejection. However, his analysis neglected the post retirement processes of adjustment.

McNeil and Giffen (1962) concluded that the retired military person usually wants to make the adjustment to civilian life. However, this adjustment is hampered because the role of ex-military personnel has not been clearly defined.

According to Bellino (1969) there are five functional dilemmas which are a source of stress for military retirees. The need for employment and finances, the loss of military role and position, the need to adapt to a new civilian life, the necessity to integrate into a permanent community and the adjustment to new and more intense family interaction. According to Watson (1963) even for those who have an easy period of transition it appears to take approximately three

years for the new civilian identity to become solidified.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The method employed in this research attempts to do justice to the lived aspects of human phenomena. To do so requires knowledge of how someone actually experienced what has been lived. Knowledge of the past was provides in the review of the literature related to life in the military, albeit somewhat scant and organized around theoretical constructs. To do otherwise would require a longitudinal study beyond the scope of this project.

DATA COLLECTION

Knowledge of the present was collected through means of depth interviews with individuals who had experienced long term military careers. The sample included ex-military personnel of varying ranks, varying civilian status and varying time spans with relation to their exit from military careers. A list

of these demographics is presented in appendix A.

Initial contact was made through the Canadian Legion. A letter of intent was sent to the board chairperson of a small branch and the board agreed to participate in the study. However, the Legion did not prove to be a major source of data since the majority of its members had not served in the military. It did, however, provide a source of referral to individuals who did meet the necessary criteria. These individuals were contacted by telephone, told of the nature of the project and appointments were made with those willing to participate. At the time of the meeting, each respondent was given further explanation of the project, issues of confidentiality were discussed, and finally a written consent form was completed. Of those contacted, none refused to participate, however, the schedules of some of the individuals did not allow for their inclusion in the study.

Chain referrals led to more respondents and the same procedure was followed. It was also suggested that a civil service bureaucracy, known for employing sizeable numbers of retired military personnel, be contacted. Eventually, this proved to be the major source of respondents. Initial contact was made with the

personnel officer. After an explanation of the project, the personnel officer agreed to circulate a written request for participants. Completed responses were collected and each respondent was contacted by telephone and the same procedure as above was followed.

In all, fifteen out of a possible nineteen respondents were interviewed and their responses employed in this study. Those who were excluded were either unavailable for extended periods during which time the interviews were conducted or had served less than ten years in the armed forces. All but one respondent were currently active in the workforce. Some, however, had experienced extended periods of unemployment after leaving the service. The variation of current employment included the following: chief executive officer of a hospital, adult education instructors, building maintenance personnel, self-employed consultant, and upper and middle administrative positions. All respondents were male.

The interviews were semi structured. the interviews were conducted in such a way as to encourage individuals to tell of their own experiences in their own words and in their own time. The format of the interview is presented in Appendix B. It was often

necessary to modify the interview according to the response pattern of the individual. This is demonstrated in the sample of interview excerpts found in Appendix C. Some respondents required continual prompting while others related their experiences without interruption. However, the focus of the interview was always directed towards those aspects of experience which were felt to be relevant to a phenomenological approach to the study of identity. Briefly, this consisted of open ended questions pertaining to the experience of leaving the military, the current experience and reference to current day to day activities.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The method of analysis employed in this study is based on the phenomenological approach as outline by Merleau-Ponty. The goal of phenomenology is to discover and account for meaning in consciousness. The origins of such an approach are founded in the works of Husserl who emphasized that in order to systematize meaning we need to return to "things themselves" (1970/1900; 252)

The purpose of this methodology is to do justice to the lived aspects of human phenomena, in this case, we are limited to the phenomenon of identity. To do so requires knowledge of how someone actually experienced what has been lived. Knowledge of the past experience of military life was briefly presented for the benefit of the reader in the chapter three. Knowledge of the present was collected through the interview process previously discussed. However constructed categories used in the analysis of the past military experience - ego, individual, group etc, - exist for the consciousness of the researcher. They are conceptualizations or constructs that have been brought into being. W at they fail to include, and this is an inherent weakness in this project, is the experience of the subject as it occurs with these constructs. The individual does not experience these constructs as the researcher constructs them. The relationship between the two must be understood externally.

In all cases, the use of preconceived constructs is problematic, since most often the products of the analysis are placed into the situation. They are presumed to operate precisely as they were conceived. If this is the case, the 'real' is first constructed

and then used to explain the 'real' data collected. In as much, the respondent's perspective is all but omitted as legitimate data.

For this reason, description is of primary importance and constitutes the first requirement of phenomenological analysis. In this way, we are made aware of concrete reality and what actually happened before the analysis begins. And, in this way, the subject's perspective and experience are kept separate from the researcher's perspective and experience. The ultimate goal of description is to provide a sense of the whole.

According to Merleau-Ponty, the phenomenological method, in order to be successful, requires four well defined characteristics. The first requirement is that the initial analysis "excludes equally the procedure of analytic reflection ... and that of scientific explanation." (Merleau-Ponty 1962: ix). The product of such an approach is a naive description which provides the general sense of the whole statement. The second requirement is a rereading of this description as a search for 'meaning units'. The is the process of reduction and involves the procedure of 'bracketing'.

Following reduction, the analyst searches for 'essences', which equate to the structure of lived experience. This involves the transformation of meaning units towards a sociological emphasis. The final requirement is the search for intentionality and the development of a consistent statement.

NAIVE DESCRIPTION

This step in the analysis is relatively simple. Interviews are transcribed, the texts are read and an understanding of the language of those presenting the descriptions is developed. A general sense of the whole experience is developed but it is not made explicit nor questioned in any way.

THE SEARCH FOR MEANING UNITS

The second step requires a rereading of the text in an effort to determine meaning units. Here the researcher begins to discriminate the meaning units drawn from a sociological perspective with a particular emphasis on the phenomenon of identity. Text is reduced to manageable units designed by sociological

criteria. At best, these units should be spontaneously perceived from within the text itself. They come into being when the reader adopts a sociological perspective. This forces the assumption that sociological reality is not the reality of the subject but is constituted by the sociological perspective of the researcher. Within this sociological perspective the researcher narrows the focus to that which is related to the phenomenon of identity. This, in itself, limits the analysis to only a particular aspect of complex reality.

THE TRANSFORMATION TO A SOCIOLOGICAL EMPHASIS DIRECTED TOWARD THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY

In the third step of the method, reflection is employed with the aim of arriving at general categories. What is truly sociologically essential is extracted from the meaning units. Data is reduced since knowledge of all of the complexities of the activities is not necessary to understand the dynamics of identity except in the most incidental way. In other words, there is a shift from subjective reality towards sociological reality and the subject's

perceptions are made thematic.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSISTENT STATEMENT

This is the final step in the analysis. It involves the synthesis of the product of step three into a consistent statement regarding the structure of identity for those who have served long term military careers. All meanings drawn in step three must be implicitly contained.

These steps will be discussed further as the analysis proceeds. In the first instance, the process will be presented in its entirety in an effort to more fully demonstrate the method. Thereafter, only those steps necessary to present the findings will be presented.

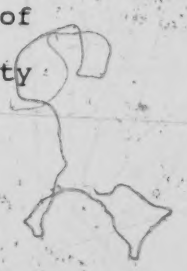
CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

To determine if there were differences in the post military experience, respondents were categorized according to the statuses of officers and junior ranks. The data relating to officers is presented first.

For reasons of anonymity and confidentiality, an attempt has been made to exclude the possibility of any identifying criteria resulting in the provision of minimal information pertaining to the respondent, other than the dialogue of the interview. The analysis of the first interview is presented in as much entirety as these restrictions allow.



OFFICERS

The Experience of a Captain

The first subject served thirteen years in the military, achieving the rank of captain. At the time of the interview he had been a civilian for a period of seven years. After a brief introduction, he was asked

to comment on his post military experiences.

Naive Description

> I served thirteen years in the military. I'll put things in context so they make sense to you. Of those thirteen years the initial four and one half were in royal military college. So I came out well indoctrinated. I came from a military family. Both my mom and dad were in the military. I came out believing the military was it for me. It was home for me in any case. I was going to be there forever. It was going to be my career.
>
> So when I got to the time frame when I started looking outside it took me a year and a half to decide that I was making the right decision. It was a very hard decision for me to make. So I think that the time, by the time I got out, I wasn't scared. I had no fear of finding another job. In fact I moved from one job to another with no break in between. I was not afraid of losing friends because I knew people across the country from in the service. You tend to congregate in whatever community you were with. I was not afraid of losing respect or credibility. I brought this with me.
>
> Within the first month of getting out I was trying to go back..I tried to keep a lifeline with the military through the militia. Within a few visits I realized it was time to cut the umbilical cord completely. So then within a couple of months I gave away my old uniform and all of my badges. That was it, I was a civilian, mind, body and soul.

With the rigid structure of the military in mind, the interviewee was than asked if he noticed anything

different in the way decisions were made in civilian life.

> This was not a problem. If there was a problem it was having to go out and buy clothes. Suddenly, you have to think about clothes.
>
> I was an officer. As an officer I was expected to use initiative and structure my time. Because of this, adjustment was not much of a problem. The decision making process, the ability to take action under stressful situations, came with the military.
>
> For instance, when I was in Cyprus leading my troops in combat there were life and death decisions trying to resolve some of the conflicts we encountered. One particular one, we were facing barrels aiming at us. If you made the wrong moves you were finished. We had to work that through.
>
> I guess the biggest difficulty was the adjustment from the mindset of the military where the power and the authority that you had was typically symbolized, not given or not granted, but symbolized by the rank structure. So you came in and when you made a decision you had credibility because of your rank. Or when you made a decision it carried the weight of your rank. So there was that structure. Now in civilian life, this credibility comes from what you have done before and what people perceive you to be and they have a choice much more than in the military setting of whether they are going to believe what you say and much more so whether they follow what you say. So there are different things that go through, to lead, to manage. That in my mind is the biggest hurdle. You don't carry a rank, you carry experience and reputation. What others perceive is, is your competence and this is significantly different from your rank. This is a major obstacle and it took a few years to work it out. That major difference comes to light when people talk, in their mannerisms, when they ask others to do

things.

I moved from a uniform to an instructor. Although I was experienced, the context changed. This required a conscious effort on my part. There has to be a conscious effort on two levels, one to get out and one to adjust. These are two significant levels and getting out is easier to do. Some of them don't even adjust. I've worked with some that still have not adjusted. They have the mindset that "I've told you to do that". I guess the biggest obstacle is how to interact with others, not just the submannerisms of how you walk, how you dress, how you talk. Sometimes you see them wearing the same shirt as they wore in the service after five years. I don't know if it's a comfort zone.

The interviewee was then asked to elaborate about rank and recognition.

Recognition is not the same, it [rank] is a form of ide tification. Recognition would be from a sense of appreciation, what you have done. So it is more identification. I think to some, no instant identification may be scary. I knew what to do with someone senior to me and I knew what to expect from someone less senior than me. Lets put things in context.

In the military one belongs to a very tight knit community. It is continually fluctuating in who comes in and out of your immediate circle. When you move to a civilian environment, that is not there, you don't expect people to move all the time. The second thing is geographical location. You can choose in civilian life. Where you live becomes an individual choice. It becomes a constant choice, rather a less disruptive one. For me, identity comes from living in the same location for a length of time. Now I'm recognized by my job and living in the same place for a length of

> time. My recognition doesn't come from the clothes I wear now. It comes from having done certain things and having interacted with people on a larger scale than on immediate small groups. I must admit initially it was difficult until I realized that is it, a whole new chapter in my life, in fact, almost a whole new book in my life. And you carry on.

The respondent was then asked if he noted any major differences between military life and civilian life and if he would elaborate on them.

> One, in fact, the only thing, the friends are still there, I don't see them too often, but if we ever meet or come across each other, it will be as if we never parted. The only thing, noted difference, that I really miss is the excitement, the pure one hundred percent, unadulterated, adrenaline that goes through and takes over every cell in your body that you get from the infantry. You had a lot of friends and you were scared together. I found ways to replace that excitement. The explosives and the chase I found in hunting which is the same as going on patrol. In general, I think I made a conscious effort to look at myself and see what was going on and found ways to replace that. I'm very content as a civilian.
>
> Now I wouldn't go back. You sit around and then its go, go, go. I didn't like the fact that your capability of making decisions was based on your rank. Here people are not as likely to make a decision just on rank but more on competence. It's a whole different lifestyle.

The next question asked for comment on the topic of loyalty.

As one progresses in the military, one had less loyalty. That's a reality. It reflects regular life. People now are less likely to be slaves to their jobs. If you stay put you don't learn. If you looked at the loyalty of the lowest rank, there is no such loyalty anywhere else. If you looked at loyalty under stress, operational loyalty, there is no loyalty like that anywhere else other than in the military, where you know that people will be behind you one hundred percent. This ceases to exist when the operation is terminated. In my mind the loyalty is situational. Some people, that's all they see.

Comment on discipline

I think discipline is a word that must be put in context. Specific tasks without question do not exist. It is not there in the more senior ranks. There is a certain pride in oneself that is not there outside the military. Then there are not the same punishments. Self discipline is not stronger in the military. External discipline is more. The military wanted twenty four hours a day. It is expected that your wife be required to go to such and such a thing. It's a very demanding organization. I found it a relief not to part of that. I found that the freedom was delightful when I got out. I'm still very busy but now it's my owndoing. It's my own choice.

I do jobs now until they are no fun any more and then I pack them in. In the military you are a service. After a while you say you can't live like this. What I saw were officers who retired after a lot of years who had nothing, nothing to go to. In the army there is the expectation that the regiment will take care of you. But now this has changed. There's nothing left at the end.

Was there ever any sudden realization that you were no longer in the military?

> Yes, there was a time when it hit me, not very deeply, it wasn't a shock. By the time I got out I, where it came to light, was when I gave away my uniform. This was the gesture that it was cut. It was a new life.

Final comment

> Leaving could be a lonely experience. I don't think anyone's family can appreciate what you go through. You need to know those who are in and want to get out. Once you are outside you need to know those who have already got out.

The purpose of providing this descriptive dialogue has been to provide a lived sense of the subject without analytic reflection. Analysis proper begins in the next step.

The Search For Meaning Units

In this part of the analysis, an attempt is made to discriminate meaning units within a sociological perspective that emphasize the phenomenon of identity; it is that part which involves reduction. Concretely,

the text is broken down into manageable units sensitized, but not limited by, sociological criteria. These units should be spontaneously perceived from within the description. We should note here the serendipity of this part of the method. While the analysis is based on certain general expectations it should not be confined by these expectations. The analysis should be approached with open endedness allowing for the possibility of discovery. This is best stated in a study of learning by Giorgi (1985: 13)

> A logical-empirical approach would first posit the criteria for learning and then note those places in the description that matched the criteria (or where the criteria failed) and draw out the implications. A more radical empirical approach would emphasize the performance itself and then try to relate performance change (for example, response rate) to environmental change. In the former case one always knows what one is looking for; it is just a matter of detecting when the subject displays it. While the latter perspective initially produced a genuine discovery (response rate is a measure of learning), it now too knows what it is looking for. Having been successful, each situation is now seen in the light of the one successful index without realizing it may be only one measure. The phenomenological approach ... tries to make genuine discoveries concerning what is important about learning ... while there are presuppositions and general precomprehensions, these are not specific enough to delineate the revealed categories in an exclusionary way.

In this part of the process caution should be taken regarding theoretical prejudices. The nature of the experience, however, should not be naively judged. To do this requires the entire description be reread within the context of discovery - rather than in the context of verification. What is reproduced here are two columns; one containing the constituent parts of the description in such a way that they are context laden, the other column, the dialogue of column one expressed in terms that are sociologically relevant to the phenomenon of identity.

MEANING UNITS	EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY
I came out believing that the military was it for me in any case. I was going to be there forever.	In the military was all I wanted to be.
When I started looking outside it took me a year and a half to decide that I was making the right decision. By the time I got out I wasn't scared. I had no fear of finding another job.	Civilian life was seen as 'outside'. It had the possibility of being frightening.
I was not afraid of losing friends.	My friends in the military would continue to be my friends.
I was not afraid of loosing my credibility.	I had a lot of respect and credibility.

I brought this with me.

Within the first month of getting out I was trying to go back.

Initially, I found myself unsuited to civilian life. I missed the military life.

I tried to keep a lifeline to the military through the militia.

I needed to maintain some attachment to the military, some semblance of military identity.

Within a few visits I realized it was time to cut the umbilical cord completely.

I had to make up my mind to be one or the other; an expression of rebirth.

Within a couple of months I gave away my uniform and all my

After giving away visible evidence of my military identity my

badges. That was it, I was a civilian, mind, body, and soul.	civilian identity came into being.
If there was a problem it was having to go out and buy clothes. Suddenly you have to think of clothes.	There was the problem of establishing a new sense of visible identity.
As an officer I was expected to use initiative and structure my time. Because of this the way I made decisions was not a problem.	I made decisions in civilian life the same as I made decisions in the forces.
I guess the biggest difficulty was the adjustment from the mindset of the military where power and authority was typically	In the military my authority was visibly represented. In civilian life it is not. This required some adjustment.

symbolized by the rank structure.	
You had credibility because of your rank.	Visible identity in the form of rank provided credibility.
A decision was carried because of your rank.	Visible identity commanded authority.
There was that structure.	This source of visible recognition provided a source of structure.
In civilian life credibility comes from what you have done before.	In civilian life sources of identity come from experience and the past.
In civilian life people have a choice of how they perceive you.	In civilian life other people has some input

into what you are. The structure does not provide well defined boundaries.

What others perceive is your competence and this is significantly different than your rank. This was a major obstacle.

In civilian life, who you are is based on abstract principles not a well defined concrete structure. This shift from the concrete to the abstract was a major obstacle.

The change to civilian life required a conscious effort on two levels, to get out and to adjust.

The transition to civilian life consisted of two elements.

Those who do not adjus have an authoritarian approach to task oriehted interaction.

Lack of adjustment is demonstrated by a continued authoritarian

	approach.
Interaction is the biggest obstacle, not personal effects.	Group participation in a different environment is difficult.
Rank is a form of identification in the service.	In the service, identity is visible and structured.
I knew what to do with someone senior to me an I knew what to expect from someone less senior.	The visible identity of rank provided definite sources of reference.
In the military you belong to a tight knit community that is continually changing.	The military provides a continual feeling of membership.
In civilian life you don't expect people to move all the time.	In civilian life you expect some forms of stability.

In civilian life you can live where you choose.

In civilian life you are allowed to make your own choices.

For me, identity comes from living in the same location for a length of time.

My identity comes from the recognition brought about through stable, well defined, patterns of interaction.

Now I'm recognized by my job and living in the same place for a length of time.

Identity is not a personal construct, it is derived through repetitive patterns of interaction.

My recognition doesn't come from the clothes I wear now. It comes from having done certain things and having interacted with people on a larger scale.

Identity is not so easily perceived now, it requires a more elaborate demonstration. It is not as simple as having your identity visibly

	displayed.
If I ever come across old friends from the military it will be as if we never parted.	Military friendship are perceived as permanent.
I really miss the excitement of the military.	The military was a source of stimulation.
I found ways to replace the excitement.	I wanted to maintain some similarity with my past.
I made a conscious effort to look at myself and see what was going on and found ways to replace that.	I had a deliberate program designed to maintain a similarity with my past.
I'm very content as a civilian.	I like being a civilian.

If you stay put you don't learn.

Personal growth requires change.

The lower ranks and in situations under stress, the loyalty in the military is unmatched.

The are instances of loyalty in the military that are foreign to civilian life.

Self discipline is not any stronger in the military. External discipline is more.

The structure of the military, not the individual in the military, should take credit for the disciplinary tendencies.

It was like freedom when I got out. What I do is my own choice.

Choice is not taken for granted.

I change jobs when I lose interest.

I like to maintain some form of mobility. In the service mobility is

a way of life.

I realized I was completely civilian when I gave away my uniforms. This was a gesture that it was cut. It was a new life.

By removing the visible evidence of an old identity, that old identity ended and a new identity became necessary.

The Transformation To A Sociological Emphasis

In step three, the subject's expressions are transformed into sociological language as it relates to identity. This occurs through the process of imagination and reflection. What is attempted is to arrive at general categories derived from the analysis of concrete expression. We attempt to seek what is essentially related to the sociological concept of identity. Those meaning units which do not withstand the appropriate criteria are discarded. Drawing from the full experience, an understanding of what changes occur, and at what levels, is estimated.

For the officer in question, we must determine the central issues about which the perceptions of identity revolved. Here we make thematic those things which are important to the phenomenon of identity structure as they relate to this particular individual. This is the search for essences. It is an attempt to comprehend lived relations. To facilitate the process the meaning units are first regrouped into a chronological order: in the military as it relates to the sociological concept of identity; the transition period from military life to civilian life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity and; civilian life after military life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity. This partitioning of the description aids in conceptualizing recurring themes. Abstractions from the descriptive discourse and reorganization in a chronological fashion assist in making obvious the structures of meaning. Coherence is revealed only after reorganization.

In the military as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I came out of military college believing that the military was for me. It was home for me in any case. I was going to be there forever.	In the military was what I wanted to be. I had a strong affinity with military identity.
As an officer I was expected to use initiative and structure my time.	In the military, structure was part of my being.
You had credibility because of your rank.	A well defined visible identity was the source of credibility.
A decision was carried because of your rank.	A well defined visible identity was the source of authority.
There was that (rank) structure.	A well defined visible identity provided a source of structure.

Rank is a form of identification.	Identification is based on what is outwardly expressed and easily recognized. It is continually displayed.
I knew what to do with someone senior to me and I knew what to expect from someone less senior.	The visible rank also provided the source for patterns of interaction and institutionalized expectations.
You belong to a tight knit community that is continually changing.	There are two levels of membership, one to the contemporary primary group, the other to the larger military.
The loyalty of the lower ranks is unmatched.	Relationship is dependent on structure.

There is more external discipline in the military.

The is an external force which pushes towards and institutionally shaped identity.

The transition as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

When I started looking outside it took me a year and a half to make the decision to leave. I was not afraid of losing friends.

Civilian life was perceived as being 'outside'. I held the belief that sources of social identity would be mantained intact.

I was not afraid of losing respect and credibility.

I held the belief that these aspects of personal identity would

be maintained intact.

With the first month of getting out I was trying to get back in.

My beliefs did not match my experience. I was mismatched with my new environment.

I tried to keep a lifeline to the military.

The military still acted as a source of self reference even though I was no longer a member.

Within a couple of months I gave away my uniform and all my badges. That was it, I was a civilian mind, body and soul.

This demonstrates the relinquishing of past sources of visible identity. It was felt that the sense of military identity ended when this source had been removed.

If there was a problem it was having to go out and buy clothes.

The visible aspects of identity continued to present a problem

situation.

The biggest difficulty was the adjustment from the mindset of the military where power and authority that you had was typically symbolized by the rank structure.

The biggest adjustment was from not having the benefit of a rigid visible identity structure.

Civilian life after military life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

Credibility comes from what you did before.

Sources of identity are derived in some part from what you did in the past.

People have a choice of how they perceive you.

Sources of identity are no longer rigid and structured. Your

identity is dependent on others' perceptions and in as much you lose some control over your source of identity.

What others perceive you to be is significantly different than your rank. This was a major obstacle.

Sources of identity shift from the concrete to the abstract, as does the outside recognition of your identity.

Interaction is the biggest obstacle, not you personal effects.

Unknown expectations in regards to patterns of interaction are problematic and, in as much, interaction skills are perceived as being important.

For me, identity comes from living in the same location for a length of time.

Identity is confirmed as being derived from stable group

membership.

My recognition doesn't come from the clothes I wear now. It comes from interaction.

Identity is no longer drawn from what is concrete and visible, it is drawn from situations of social interaction.

The Development Of A Consistent Statement

In this step we attempt to develop the sociological structure of the identity of the individual provided in the description. Although a general statement cannot be drawn from a single source, in this instance the procedure is undertaken to demonstrate the method.

Identity for the subject can be divided into two distinct episodes; that when the subject was in the military and that when the subject was in civilian life after a military career. The first task is to determine general features of the identity. At the very onset of the description it is determined that the

individual expressed a strong affinity with the military. In this well structured environment he perceived of the necessity to adopt a structured perspective to experience. This is also made evident by the continual need to "put thing in context" and the need for an ordered life. Identity under such circumstances was the result of concrete, real and visible markings. With this visible identity came credibility, authority, structure and loyalty. This visible identity provided a reference for patterns of interaction and the source of group membership. In addition, on a larger scale, the relationship with the military let identity transcend the immediate group and identity was easily recognizable and interpreted by the larger military as a whole. The sense of external discipline also helped shape elements of identity. In other words, while identity was displayed as concrete and visible, it origin was from the interpretation of larger abstract principles.

At the time of transition from military to civilian life, fears of loss of identity were present. The perception of something different is made known with the notion of "looking outside". Sources of identity come into question: friends, respect, credibility.

This includes two reference points for identity, first the larger group and then the visible identity. In all cases, while in the military and while questioning the transition, identity is drawn from the expression of self as it relates to interaction. When first entering the civilian world, the individual felt mismatched with the new environment and interaction with the military continued to act as a source of identity.

For this individual, military identity ceased when all visible sources of military identity were relinquished. Now a civilian, having rid himself of his military source of identity, he began a search for a new identity that would match his environment while retaining some semblance of the past. At first, sources were drawn from what had been familiar, that is, identity through visible demonstration. After having established a visible identity, the civilian was faced with the realization that this mode of identity no longer commanded power and authority. Identity within civilian life was perceived to be the product of past experiences. With the military environment and its readily visible means of identity removed, we see a shift in the subject's perception of the derivation of identity. It shifts from the concrete to the abstract.

This presented a difficult conversion. Appropriate modes of interaction became problematic. However, social recognition still remained a source of identity. This notion of group identity still remains prominent in as much as identity is perceived as requiring membership in a stable group - "identity comes from living in the same location for a length of time". Overal , the major shift in the source of identity is the shift from the concrete and visible to the abstract, however, throughout the entire span, identity confirmation is related to group membership.

At this point, no other generalizations can be drawn. What is required is a similar analysis of a number of cases. In the following, the description provided by three other participants will be presented in their near entirety. This is necessary to allow the reader to develop a fuller understanding of the method and to provide a comparison between the junior and officer ranks. Following that, the amount of data will be reduced as it becomes redundant.

THE EXPERIENCE OF ANOTHER CAPTAIN

The second subject served in the armed forces for thirty years and achieved the rank of an officer. At the time of the interview this individual had been out of the service for thirteen years.

Naive Description

> I felt that I wasn't very well conditioned or prepared to leave the military. But I don't think the military should have done any more for me. If you are going to do something then just do it. But I was ill prepared for what to expect when I got out.
>
> The military has a tendency to make you feel you are not qualified. The military undersells themself. They make you feel you are a second class citizen. I feel I am better prepared than other people. I've had experience where others who haven't had military experience don't major up at all. Number one in dealing with people. People are people no matter where you deal with them. I felt I was more prepared than most people.
>
> The transition was very smooth. I wasn't officially out when I started work. I had been all processed but I was officially on leave. I didn't have a period when I was out of work.
>
> There is a self constructed social life in the military. It is more or less manufactured for you. My last posting I lived off the base. So for this time I was not within twenty four hour confines of the base. So I got away from the normal military style of life. I found it a much more interesting existence to be off the base. When you're living on the base you're inside the fence, still within the confines of the organization.
>
> When we were off the base we lived in a civilian community. It conditioned you. You

got away from the military. You didn't talk military. We made friends and we still go back because we made close ties there.

There were never any doubts about leaving. I never looked back. I made my decision and I never looked back. Never. That's me though.

I got tired of the military. I got tired. The same as anything you do for a long time. I joined at the bottom of the ladder. I enjoyed it but I got tired of it. In the meantime I did well. I progressed through the ranks. I can't complain. Anything I didn't achieve was my own fault.

I'm outspoken. I tell it like it is. That hurts sometimes but I have to accept the consequences of my own actions. What I say and what I do, I have to accept that.

I don't think I've changed. My wife was surprised when I decided to leave. In the house, I'm the boss in the house. Women don't want to hear that this day and age but I'm the boss. I am. I've got a super wife. But I make the decisions. It's my responsibility to make the decisions.

No, I don't think I've changed much. You have to roll with the punches. You take the highs and the lows and get on with it. I still have a strong affinity to discipline and the corp. These are so ingrained. I think this is me. I like to wear a uniform. Frankly, I like to stand out. I'm a loud person. That's me. I like to be at least set apart from the crowd. You had to be noticed in the service to get anywhere.

My first job after I left the service involved only me. I had no supervising capacity. So I didn't have that. I think that my leadership capabilities became recognized. My job is similar. I'm in charge of a number of people. It doesn't bother me one bit to have to direct people or to tell people what to do. It doesn't bother me. I guess I have a lot of confidence in myself. I'm willing to be responsible for what I do.

The force was my life. In perspective I loved the service more than anything else in the world. It's a different kind of love. It was the thing to me. It came from way

back. There was hero worship or whatever. I was in the Air Cadets because at that age it was the closest thing to the service. As a boy I wanted to join the Air Force. I wanted to be in the service. The war was glamorous. It didn't register that there was danger involved.

Today I see people screaming about this and that and I say you take a lot for granted. Go see other things.

I do not miss he camaraderie of the service. I'm still involved with a lot of military. It was still like old times. You can make friends very quickly in the service.

I'm exceptionally easy to get to know. I make rapid decisions on how I see things. To size things up quickly. To express my point of view and not necessarily consider other peoples' views. I think people like this get known pretty quickly. I'm an extrovert. I've never found it difficult to be frank, to get along with a group, or get to know people. I found this a very easy part of my life.

I can tell you I drank a lot in the military. I always went to the mess and attended all the functions. Attending the mess was important career wise. I was also active in sports. When I left the service for the first two years I carried on much the same as I did in the service. I went to the Legion often and I identified with that way of life and I did it. This just virtually tapered off. Now it's just the family. We do a lot of family things. We have some ex-service friends which we socialize with but not on a regular basis. I don't get a lot of pleasure out of going to gatherings. In fact, I think I avoid them. We have a section reunion once a year and I go to that. To the mess dinner.

I don't feel I've anything missing out of my life. I guess the biggest change I've noticed is not moving. This took some getting used to. I must admit I got a bit anxious. I looked for the type of job that might move me. I liked moving. Some didn't but I did. I enjoyed it. It was good for my family.

Most people probably don't see any military in me. Not as much as other military people. I think I've assimilated to a greater extent than some others. They have a tendency to carry their rank. They may not be conscious of it. They still carry their rank on their shoulder.

It was a conscious thing, it came to mind, that I was no longer in charge of anything. You keep telling yourself this. But I can take orders as well as give them. I think I reminded myself of this many times. I never had any great expectations. I knew my own capabilities. I don't aspire to get higher. I wouldn't be comfortable in a higher position. I'm comfortable. I'm not competing. I'm comfortable. I wish more people would look at things this way. I think I'm as high as I should be.

One of the major differences between the service and civilian life is the orderly fashion of doing things, things done in a uniform way. Being organized. General orderly fashion. Getting the job done. That's one of the things that stands out in my mind. Get the job done. Just find a way and do it. Outside the service too many people waste their time carrying their placards around. Wasting time. Just do the job. I see people worrying about nonsense. I don't want to waste my life like that. Political turmoil is bullshit. We shouldn't be arguing. We should all be pulling together.

I still have my old uniform. I don't know what I am going to do with it. I won't give it to somebody like a youngster who is going to desecrate the uniform. The uniform meant something to me and it is still meaningful to me. That was another part of my life. I'd give it to someone to keep warm. There's hardly a recognized charity I don't give to. And I believe in that. There are people less fortunate than ourselves. I believe there are some who are there because they want to be. But I can't sort them out. I can't sort them out. And I can't waste my God damn time trying to. If its a charity I donate. I believe we are our brothers keeper. We are

taught to look after one another in the service. You depended on your buddy. Maybe that has helped me. You look after one another. I don't have a social circle to depend on now. I see too much of an I'm-for-me attitude. That's bad.

I guess this pulling together goes into thinking a lot. My family. The most important thing in my life is my family. Not my son or daughter but my family. There is strength in the family unit. To me this is the most important thing in my life. In the military you have the feeling that you can depend on the person next to you. I don't think I have that now in civilian life.

There's differences between the service and civilian life. I wear a different set of clothes now. I have certain clothes I wear each day of the week. This is a carry over from the service. I know next Monday exactly what I'm going to wear. I know that next Wednesday I'll wear grey pants, grey shirt and a blue jacket. I even know which tie I'll wear. And I do that. It's just the way I am. My home is more or less run on a military style. Everything has its place and everything has to be in its place. I don't like my wife changing the front room around. I think there are certain things that fit in certain places. I won't wear the kind of shirt that doesn't have to be ironed. I think the way I live is a good style. It makes me happy.

You have to shed the military after you get out. I don't think about my service life on a daily basis. The service is gone. Others still wear their rank.

I learned to appreciate those people who work for you. I hate the term that somebody doesn't work for me, that they work with me. They work for me. If they didn't work for me they'd work against me. So I say they work for me. These people are important to you. You need their support. You need it. Military people are willing to give more of themselves to the job. When they call you, you go. The military guy just does it.

Loyalty to me is probably the most important thing a person can have. I need

their loyalty. It is extremely important. I am ungodly loyal to the organization. I know I am. I know I am. It's extremely important. If I can't give it my all I wouldn't be here. If you work for a man then work for him. You can question anything but if the boss says do it I do it. Loyalty is support. But I won't break regulations. Loyalty is someone coming to me. Loyalty is held very high. It's a reflection of my integrity.

If your service oriented and spend a career in it you can't help but be moulded by it. It becomes you. I don't believe that I have carried it all around with me. Not because it's not good but because it doesn't fit.

The Search For Meaning Units

MEANING UNITS	EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY
I was not very well prepared to leave the military.	There was a perceived necessary change but I was not sure what needed to be changed.
The military makes you feel you are inferior	The military forces the notion of a separate

to civilian counterparts.	identity on its members.
I feel I am better prepared to deal with situations that require interaction skills.	In matters that require social interaction I have no difficulty.
There was a self-contained, manufactured social life in the military.	The military constructed and structured the social life.
When you are living on the base you're inside the fence, still within the confines of the organization.	The military stands in contrast to life outside. It is constrictive.
I make decisions and I never look back.	I perceive myself as being able to make correct decisions.

I'm outspoken, I tell it like it is but I accept the consequences of my own actions.

I like people to take note of me. I like me to be obvious.

I don't think I've changed.

I'm still the same person.

The home is my domain which I still command.

I have a command but not the same command as in the military.

I don't think I've changed much.

There is a possibility that I have change somewhat.

You take the highs and lows and get on with it.

Unquestioning response.

Discipline is ingrained. I still have a strong affinity to discipline and the

The armed forces is discipline and discipline is me.

corp. I think this is me.

I like to wear a uniform. I like to stand out. I'm a loud person, that's me.

I like a strong visible expression of my identity.

I like to be at least set apart from the crowd. You had to stand out to be noticed in the service.

A strong visible identity has benefits.

It doesn't bother me one bit to direct people or to tell them what to do. I have a lot of confidence in myself.

I felt that I have a lot of ability . I like a position of authority and status.

In perspective, I loved the service more than anything else in the world. It's a different kind of love.	I had and still have a strong affinity to the service.
Other people tend to take too much for granted.	I find fault with a lot of other people.
I do not miss the camaraderie of the service.	I do not miss this pattern of interaction associated with the service.
I'm exceptionally easy to get to know. Very often I don't recognize other peoples' views. Because of this I get known quickly.	I'm the type that everyone knows because I am different than most people.

I'm an extrovert.	I like a lot of recognition from other people. I like to display myself.
When I left the service I attempted to maintain a similar social life as I had in the service by associating with other ex-servicemen.	I attempted to maintain a similar source of group identity.
I identified with that way of life. It did come to an end.	The same source of identity could not be maintained outside of the military.
Now it's just the family which constitutes my social activity.	Social life is restricted to primary group interaction.

Now I derive little pleasure out of military related social events.	I do not enjoy what I used to enjoy.
I had to get used to not moving frequently.	This characteristic of military service was difficult to give up.
I think I've assimilated to a civilian lifestyle to a greater extent than some others. They attempt to retain their rank. They still carry their rank on their shoulder.	I've made the transition well. Others carry their military identity with them in the form of continuing to operate as though their rank was still valid.
It was a realization that I was no longer in charge of anything.	I realized I was no longer in the military when I realized I was no longer in a position of command.

I can take order as well as give them.	Discipline and authority are still part of my nature.
I wish more people would look at things the way I do.	I have a dogmatic approach to interaction.
In the military there is an orderly fashion of doing things. General orderly fashion.	The military is a very structured system of being.
I still have my old uniform. This is still a meaningful artifact.	The uniform still has a lot of meaning. It is still a reminder of my past identity.
I give to all recognized charities.	I give to structured organizations.
I believe there are some people on charity	I do not like persons who do not make the

because they want to be. These are a source of personal frustration.	most of themselves. They affect me directly.
In the service we were taught to look after one another. You had to depend on those near you. I don't have the same close group now. There is too much of an "I'm for me attitude".	In civilian life there are too many people who emphasize individuality.
The most important thing in my life is my family. The family unit is a source of strength.	My family is now my most important reference group.
I have certain clothes I wear each day of the week. I know exactly what I'm going to wear.	Some of my life is still very structured.

In my home everything has its place and has to be in its place and I decide where that place is.

My life is still very structured and I maintain that structure.

People work for me not with me.

I need to be central and have subordinates.

I need people's loyalty.

The responses of the subordinate others helps shape me.

Loyalty is very important.

I hold loyalty in high esteem.

Loyalty is someone coming to me.

I need to be central in my definition of loyalty.

I haven't carried all of my service identity with me. Not because it's not good, but because it doesn't fit.

I liked what I was in the service but this cannot operate fully in civilian society.

The Transformation To A Sociological Emphasis

In the military as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I was not very well prepared to leave the military.	I perceived that change was necessary but I was not sure of what this change would be.
The military makes you feel inferior.	The military forces a notion of separate identity on its members.
There was a self-contained, manufactured social life in the military.	The military constructed and structured the social life.
When you are living on the base your're inside the fence, still within	The military stands in contrast to civilian life. It is constrictive.

the confines of the organization.

In the military there is an orderly fashion of doing things. General orderly fashion. Things are done in a uniform and organized way.

The military is very structured in all facets.

In the service we were taught to look after one another. You had to depend on those near you.

In the service there was a strong reliance on members of you group.

The transition as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

When I left the service I attempted to maintain a similar social life as in the service by

I attempted to maintain a similar reference point for my social identity.

association with ex-service people.

I identified with that way of life. It did come to an end.

This source of identity authentication came to an end.

It was the realization that I was no longer in charge of anything.

I realized I was no longer in the military when I realized I no longer had the authority to command.

Civilian life after military life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I feel I am better prepared to deal with situations that require the command of groups.

In matters of social interaction I perceive that I have no difficulties.

I make decisions and I never look back.

I perceive myself as being able to make the correct decisions.

Anything I didn't achieve was my own fault.	I control my destiny.
I'm outspoken, I tell it like it is but I accept the consequences of my own actions.	I like people to take note of me regardless of the social cost.
I don't think I've changed.	I am still the same person I was in the military.
The home is my domain which I still command.	I still have something in my command. It is my home. Here I make the decisions.
I don't think I've changed much.	Upon reflection, I admit there is some possibility of change in myself.
Discipline is	Discipline is a major

ingrained. I still have a strong affinity to discipline and the corp. I think this is me.

part of service life. I still have a strong affinity to discipline so I think I still have a strong affinity to the service. I am still very much military in this way.

I like to wear a uniform. I like to stand out. I'm a loud person, that's me.

I like to express a strong sense of visible identity and to be easily recognizable.

I like to be at least set apart from the crowd. You had to stand out to be noticed in the service.

A strong sense of visible identity has benefits.

It doesn't bother me one bit to direct people or to tell people what to do. I

I have a very sure sense of my abilities. These I do not question. This make me

have a lot of confidence in myself.	suitable to be in a position of command.
In perspective I loved the service more than anything in the world. It's a different kind of love.	Again, I have to emphasize my affinity with the service.
Other people tend to take too much for granted.	A lot of other people who do not see things the way I do tend to have faults.
I do not miss the camaraderie of the service.	I do not miss the broader patterns of interaction that are common in the service.
I'm exceptionally easy to get to know. Very often I don't recognize other people's views. I am an extrovert.	I'm the type that everyone knows because I am different than most people. I like a lot of

recognition and to get this recognition I make myself stand out.

Now it's just the family which constitutes most of my social activity.

My primary relations are now scaled down to the family level.

Now I derive little pleasure out of military related social events.

I no longer identify with all of the social aspects of military life.

I think I've assimilated to a civilian life style to a greater extent than some others. They attempt to retain their rank. They still carry their rank on their shoulders.

Since I didn't attempt to maintain the same level of status and authority as I had in the military I have made the adjustment better than others.

I can take orders as well as give them.	Discipline and authority are still part of my nature.
I still have my old uniform. This is still a meaningful artifact.	I still have my old uniform. It is a source of pride and identification.
I don't have a same close group now. There is too much of an "I'm for me attitude".	In civilian life there is too much of a individual approach to being.
Other people should respond to me not to themselves.	'Me' is central to my identity.
I have certain clothes that I wear each day of the week. I know exactly what I am going to wear.	Parts of my life are still very structured.

In my home everything has its place and has to be in its place and I decide where that place is.

Parts of my life are still very structured. These remain in my command.

People work for me not with me.

I need to set myself apart from those who are subordinate.

I need other peoples' loyalty. I am loyal. Loyalty is very important.

The response from subordinate others shapes me.

Loyalty is someone coming to me. Loyalty should be directed to me.

It provides me with a sense of status and authority.

I haven't carried all of my service identity with me.

I have maintained some of my military identity.

Not because it is not good but because it doesn't fit.	I was forced to give up part of my military identity, not because I wanted to, but because it did not fit in civilian society.

The above can now be reduced to contain only those elements that relate directly to identity.

There was a self contained manufactured social life in the military.	Military life was very structured.
In the military there is an orderly fashion of doing things and uniform way.	Military life was very structured.

When I left the military I still identified with that way of life.

The military remained a source of identity.

This ended when I realized I was no longer in charge anything.

My military identity had been drawn through structure, authority and status. This ended when I left the military.

Anything I didn't do was my own fault.

I controlled my own destiny.

I'm outspoken.

I like people to take note of me, people to know who I am.

I don't think I've changed.

I'm still the same as in the military.

I still command.

Authority is still a self reference.

I have a strong affinity to discipline. I think this is me.	Equates self with discipline and structure and therefore the armed forces experience.
I like to wear a uniform. I like to stand out.	I associate myself with a strong visible identity.
I like to be set apart from the crowd.	I enjoy a strong sense of visible identity.
I am an extrovert.	I enjoy being recognized and I need social recognition.
My family constitutes most of my social activity.	I derive recognition from my family.

I still have my old uniform. This is a meaningful artifact.	I still draw some of my identity from my military experience.
I have certain clothes I wear each day of the week.	Ordered structure and uniformity are still a major part of my life.
In my home everything has its place and has to be in its place.	Ordered structure and uniformity are still a major part of my life.
I need other people's loyalty.	I need recognition from others.
I haven't carried all of my service identity with me. Not because it's not good, but because it doesn't fit.	My self cannot operate fully in the wider civilian society but I have attempted to modify circumstances so as to maintain a similar source of reference.

The Development Of A Consistent Statement

Again, emphasis is on the structured nature of the military experience as perceived by the individual. In this case, this is noted by the perceived contrast between civilian and military life. The military was experienced as "orderly", "uniform" and "organized".

Concerning the current reference of identity, the dialogue has a noted lack of reference to the self-not-in-association-to-the-military. During the transition period, from military to civilian life, this individual attempted to retain the military as a source of identity. The realization of status and authority loss ended this concrete relationship with the military. This status and authority had been a major source of identity during the military career. This status and authority also had a concrete visible source in the form of rank. As in the previous case, identity had a close association with what was easily recognizable and easily interpreted.

This individual does not perceive of much change in self, what has changed is the referential point from which identity is drawn. However, identity still maintains a strong association to authority, discipline

structure and uniformity. Whereas this identity was once expressed through the aid of a visible rank, the lack of rank is now compensated by the tendency to be an "extrovert". Overall, this individual has sought to maintain relationships that would provide a reference point similar to that associated with the military experience.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OFFICERS

The results of the remaining cases who served as officers in the Armed Force will be presented in a summarized form. Drawing from the descriptions presented from all cases the following meaning units were selected to include in the analysis. The analysis presented here begins with the process of reflection.

The Transformation To A Sociological Emphasis

in the military as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

MEANING UNITS	EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY
Military is a very integrated network. You work together and you play together.	There is a very strong sense of group unity. Most of your daily experience revolves around the military.

When I was in the military my rank in life or what I was, was never difficult to explain.	The well structured nature and the visible expression of identity was never problematic in the military life. This is different in civilian life.
There is an unquestioning response in the military.	Obedience, authority and loyalty are a major part of the military experience.
In the service you identified with the whole corp.	Identity was drawn from group membership and affiliations.
You work as a unit in the military.	The military experience was very much a group experience.

In the military you always new someone.	The shared experience of the military facilitated social interaction.
Military was a family.	The military was perceived as a large primary group.
I liked the rank structure.	I liked a well defined system of identity.
Military had social obligations that were part of the job.	There was no separation between work and leisure.
In the service our social life was part of my job and we did our duty.	There was no separation between work and leisure.
In the service you all talked the same language.	In the service, experience was homogeneous. This

	facilitated social interaction.
I was in the military twenty four hours a day.	There was no separation between work and leisure.
In the military I had a sense of loyalty to something and loyalty was directed to me as well.	The military provided a common source of reference and purpose.
There was respect for rank.	Visible identity commanded action.
Whatever orders you gave or were given were carried out.	Obedience, authority and loyalty were a major part of the military experience.

The transition as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I had to accept the fact that I had lost my rank. I had to start again.

I had to accept the fact that I had lost a major expression of identity. I had to begin to construct a new one.

I had to make a conscious statement to myself that I was no longer in the military.

It was difficult accept that my military identity had ceased.

You had to recognize that the job was finished.

It required a conscious effort to recognize the experience was now finished.

When you leave you are a complete stranger.

When you enter civilian life you enter an environment which is alien to you.

There's a time when you don't want to give up the contact with the military.	There is an episode after you leave the military when you retain the military as a reference point.
Very gradually I realized I wasn't a soldier anymore.	The transition to a civilian identity is a gradual process.

Civilian life after military life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I still have a membership in the mess but we don,t go much. We don't have a close relationship with a particular unit anymore.	I maintain a relationship with the military although it is no longer an intimate part of my experience. My emphasis has shifted towards the experience of a sense of individual being rather

than close group identification.

I think I draw myself from my current employment.

My source of identity has shifted from the military to my current experience as it is limited by my area of employment.

After I got out I went back to the militia.

I still needed a referential point with a commonness to the military experience.

I keep a membership in a military association. This is one way of getting to that larger military family.

I still use the military as a reference to identity.

After you take off your uniform you feel anonymous.

It is difficult when you lose your visible means of identity.

Without a uniform you can't identify people so easy.

The loss of a visible means of identity makes social interaction problematic.

Being in the military is like being a big family. Work in civilian life is much more an individual thing.

In the military identity is drawn from group membership. In civilian life you are left to construct your own identity.

I still have my old uniform. Its symbolic.

My visible source of identity was valued.

Your roots in the military are in the military. When you leave you have to replace these roots.

In the military, identity is drawn from group membership. In civilian life you are left to construct your own identity.

You have to actively attempt to get into a community.	You actively seek group membership.
There are minor changes in every aspect of your life.	Adjustment encompasses all experience.
People in civilian life do not like a firm hand on the tiller.	Military life is much more prone to the acceptance of discipline and obedience.
It is difficult to decide what you are going to wear. It was no problem in the military.	In the military some aspects of my self were well prescribed. Now this is an individual choice.
When I describe myself to someone I include my military career.	I still draw a sense of identity from my military experience.

My present values are all a product of my military career.

My sense of self and perspective are a result of the military experience.

I still have a couple of old uniforms.

I still have my old source of visible identity.

I'm in the reserve.

I still draw some of my self from current military affiliations.

Not knowing anyone took some getting used to.

I miss the sense of shared experience.

I like deadlines and I expect people to meet deadlines.

I still like things to be rigid and structured.

It's awkward not having insignia so that you automatically know who you are talking to.

The loss of readily recognizable and visible sources of identity make social

	interaction problematic.
With your rank on your sleeve you knew where you fit.	Without visible expressions of identity it is difficult to locate self and others in the larger social milieu.
It is hard to break the habit of telling people what to do.	It is difficult to relinquish authority that comes with rank.
Part of me is still a soldier.	I still reference my identity to my military experience.
Some of the things I don't want to forget. They are an influence, not just a memory.	I make a conscious effort to retain some elements of military identity. They are a source of reference for my being.

I have been in the reserve since I left the military.

I have attempted to maintain elements of military identity.

I see my uniform everyday hanging in the closet.

I constantly remind myself of my military experience.

The military still effects the way I think.

I still use the military as a reference point for interpreting experience.

I'm a product of where I've been.

My experiencing is shaped by the military.

I have different values compared to someone who has not been in the military.

My experiencing is shaped by the military.

I enjoyed and miss the privilege of rank.

I miss the visible structure of identity.

I miss the rank structure.

I miss the benefits of a visible structure of identity.

The Development Of A Consistent Statement

All respondents seem to draw some sense of identity from the past military experience, either from the visible nature of military identity or from the discipline it demanded. After the military career was finished, most respondents tended to live on the horizon of military service. That is, they continued to relive the constituent meanings in a variety of situations. These meanings were further extended through recollection, perception and anticipation.

Life in the military was experienced as an ordered and structured being. Identity was drawn from this well defined structure; "When I was in the military, my rank in life, or what I was, was never difficult to explain." This seems to be a common sentiment among those who have served in the military as an officer. Typically, most sources of identity authentication were

drawn from within the military; "You work together and you play together." and "... social obligations were part of the job". The "military was a family", "a well integrated network" where demands for the most part were met with unquestioning response. In the service "we all talked the same language" and "there was a sense of belonging". There was a taken for granted sense of structure that promoted a sense of harmony.

Leaving the long term military career temporarily disrupted the familiar and the typical of the taken for granted experience. No respondents denied change but the change was realized gradually. The gradualness of this change is well reported by those respondents who maintained or continue to maintain membership in military related institutions. Identity for the individual tended to shift its mode of authentication towards identity as an individual. This stands in contrast to a military identity within the military experience which is founded on an individual-institutional relationship.

Regarding sources of visible identity as expressed by uniform and insignia, we can conclude that these acted as a constant source of identity throughout the military experience and that the absence of such well

defined elements of identity required some adjustment on the part of the individual. Nearly all respondents shared the sentiments of the comment " With rank on your sleeve, you knew where you fit." Without the rigid structure in place, the mundane experience becomes problematic. This is expressed in such sentiments as "It is difficult to decide what you are going to wear." and "There are minor changes in every aspect of your life."

As to current identity and referential sources of identity, the military continued to be a major influence on the individual. This is expressed in such statements as "I still have my old uniform, it's symbolic." and "My present values are all a product of my military career."

Overall, the military is a constant influence on the individual's perception of self: "The military still affects me in the way I think."; "I'm a product of where I've been."; and "Some of the things I don't want to forget, they are an influence, not just a memory."

What is brought to light is the configuration of identity after a long term military career as an officer. While no longer a direct source of identity in the larger realm of social interaction and social

functioning, the military remains a source of identity within the individual act of experiencing.

THE JUNIOR RANKS

It is not necessary at this point to present the reader with the entire description of the experience as presented by the individual. Rather, selected portions of a description will be presented in an effort to demonstrate similarities and differences between the experiences of officers and junior ranks.

Naive Description

This respondent served fourteen and one half years in the service and achieved the rank of corporal. At the time the interview the individual had been out of the service for a period of twelve years.

> I made the decision to get out. I started looking for a job before I left the service. In the workforce I wanted to give it my all and I set my sights high. When I came out I found [the job] a hell of a culture shock.

There was no policy. It was assumed that people would just do their job. I wanted the rules of the game set out.

When I got out I didn't know the [job] environment. I needed a mentor. I didn't sleep well for a year. There isn't a lot of self discipline in civilian life. There are a lot of small p politics, cliques and pockets. Its a different culture. It makes for a lot of insecurity because you don't know where people are coming from. In the service you knew. Someone says "Do this" and it gets done. So that was difficult to get used to.

In terms of my time clock, this is the longest we have lived anywhere. In the service you moved around a lot. To get around that we moved from one house to another.

When you get out you feel like you're on your own. A lot of time you question your loyalties. But when I got out my values changed. I feel a lot better about myself now. In the service I was just a bit of dust on a big wheel. Now I can make things happen. Yes, I felt a lot different about myself. I have higher self esteem.

The service was good at making you think their way. Some of this is still with me. My expectation is that if you come to work with me you would know what to do because in the service you knew what to do. I'm still like that.

I still have a lot of habits. I have to have a plan. My day is very structured. It causes problems for people. They can't understand why I do things this way. The habits that I picked up there - I don't think I'll ever get them out.

Being lower ranks we were never allowed to make decisions so now I find this difficult. Rather than make decisions I tend to go for consensus building. This is sort of a way out.

Although this is not a complete description, it is adequate to point out those aspects related to identity.

The Search For Meaning Units

In the military as it related to the sociological concept of identity:

MEANING UNITS	EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY
In the service I was a bit of dust on a big wheel.	In the service I had a subordinate status in a large organization. I perceived myself as a minute part of a whole.
The service was good at	You became military and

making you think their way.	your perceptions and mode of experiencing became military.

The transition as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

I made the decision to get out.	I wanted to leave the service.
When I left I found the job a shock.	I was not prepared for what I experienced when I left the military.
When you get out you are on your own.	Leaving the military is a solitary experience. You do not have the support that you are accustomed to.

Civilian life after military life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity:

There was no policy.	Civilian life was not structured on a rigid design.
I wanted the rules of the game set out.	I needed the feeling of a defined structure.
I needed a mentor.	I needed someone to tell me what the structure was.
There are a lot of small 'p' politics, cliques and pockets.	Civilian life had no large sense of unity.
It makes for a lot of insecurity because you don't know where people are coming from.	The lack of unity and visible identity made life problematic. There is no structure to guide you.

A lot of time you question your loyalties.

A lot of time you don't know where you belong.

My values changed.

My mode of experiencing changed. I changed.

I feel better about myself now.

I recognize myself as an individual now.

Now I can make things happen.

I have control over my life now.

I still think the way the service made me think.

I still have the same sense of experiencing as I had instilled in me in the service.

I have to have a plan. My day is very structured.

This way of experiencing is very structured and I still need to define a structure and take a structured approach.

Rather than making decisions I tend to go for consensus building.	This is the way I thought in the military since I did not have the authority to make decisions.

The Development Of A Consistent Statement

'Being in the military' did not constitute a major part of the dialogue. 'Being out of the military' and an emphasis on change and similarities in the experience of self tended to comprise the major part of the interview. Similar to those officers whose experiences are represented in the preceding section, the perception of both a structured environment and a structured mode of experience dominate.

The respondent noted definite differences in civilian life. These included the realization of the free creation of status and the realization of the possibility of the choice of group membership.

Nonetheless, and similar to the experiences of others, there was a perception of a lack of well defined structure that resulted in feelings of insecurity. This sense of insecurity was not quick to subside.

The remaining respondents from the junior ranks shared similar experiences and expressed similar sentiments. Some had retained memberships in post military organizations. In contrast to the officers interviewed for this study, none of those participants who had left the service as a junior rank member had kept their uniform. This may indicate that where status is associated with visible identity, those associated with the lower status find it less difficult to come to terms with a new mode of experience. The junior ranks also missed the sense of camaraderie more so than the officer category: "Camaraderie is the biggest difference and this is one thing I do miss." and, from another respondent, "I spend a lot of time by myself. That's tough sometimes."

Overall, the junior rank participants shared the same sense of shared military identity as the officers: "In the service you all had the same outlook or tunnel vision, you all shared a common identity."; if "You

spend twenty five years of your life under the same roof, you're bound to keep something." and; "I brought a lot of things with me to civilian life but civilian life is a different thing altogether".

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was twofold, one to relate the experience of the transition from military to civilian life as it relates to the sociological concept of identity, and two, to determine what identity is.

The experience of identity within the military setting was determined through a synthesis of operational definitions and drawn from existing research. Analysis could only be made with retrospective means. In general, it would appear that experiencing in the military is structured, unified and rigid. Identity in such circumstances is well defined and easily recognized by both self and others creating standardized patterns of interaction.

Data gathered through means of interviews and pertaining to that period of transition from military to civilian life indicates that all those who participated in this study found situations and elements of situations in the taken for granted civilian world that were experienced as uncomfortable

and unfamiliar. We should note here that this is not unusual in the case of the likes of immigrants or religious converts, but the respondents employed in this study share in common only the experience of the military. At other levels, their backgrounds are as diverse as any and they have all at one time or another been made familiar with civilian society. That is to say, civilian society was not, and had never been, unknown. What was perceived as unfamiliar were mundane activities (buying clothes and the selection of daily wardrobe), the lack of a socially homogeneous perspective (this is represented by the perception of an array of values that are not consistent with the values of military society; patterns of social interaction) and the lack of an easily recognizable and definite identity that shaped social interaction.

After an absence from the military, individuals continued, in varying degrees, to find these circumstances a source of frustration. In other words, all subjects maintained at least some elements of an identity that can be associated with the military experience. These elements can be summarized as general categories of experiencing:

1. The Perception of the Need For Structure

All experience in the military was structured. The perceived lack of structure in civilian life was a source of anxiety. Even after an extended absence from the military experience this perception of a lack of available and homogeneous structure made situations problematic. One of the characteristics of a military and post military experience then is the need to have available a well defined system of reference as it pertains to the current situation, and the means to reference situations as they arise.

2. The Need for a Recognizable and Visible Index of Reference

The rank structure and the associated insignia were major constituents of both the recognition and expression of personal and social relations in the military setting. Some of those who have undergone the transition found other ways of attempting to maintain this sense of reference. Success, however, was limited to the expression of self since it is not possible to make similar demands on other members of civilian society. Sources of identity are therefore drawn inwards and identity narrows to the perception of self within small group situations.

In all, the phenomenological analysis demonstrated that military identity and civilian identity have some differences and that elements of military identity are retained long after the full military experience had ceased.

The task now is to relate this analysis to the phenomenon of identity in general terms. This requires that we deal solely with the sociological concept of identity as it comes into being and operation through situations.

It was determined in the review of the literature that the phenomenon of identity is most often considered in terms of operationalized, common sense conceptions and theoretical classifications. Conclusions drawn from this body of literature can include: identity as a relationship to generalized others; identity as a psychological achievement; identity as a consequence and; identity as a social performance. All of which are inadequate for a fundamental understanding of what identity is.

If identity could draw a full definition from its relationship to generalized others, then a change in generalized others would constitute a change in identity. As we have seen in the analysis of the

transition from military to civilian life, there is a tendency among individuals to retain general categories of reference as they pertain to social relationships. Since the original source of reference is no longer present we must conclude that identity precedes the relationship and that the relationship to generalized others simply acts to bring differing identities into relief.

While it is conceded that the continuity of identity is a psychological achievement, this does not tell us anything about what identity is. Here too, it is easy to accept the notion that identity is always within consciousness, which it is not.

Identity as a social performance also falls short of full marks since identity continues to exist when no performance is required or when the sense of identity is mismatched with the present performance. Although identity influences our performance, it cannot be equated with performance.

The above tell us nothing about what it means to have an identity nor what an identity is when it is removed from the situation. Certainly it must be conceded that identity is a product of something, but this does not address the central issue of experiencing

identity.

So how then should identity be addressed. Stone provides the basis on which to build by determining identity to be a meaning acquired by the situated self. However, identity comes to precede the situated self and what should be emphasized is the system of meaning as it is used in the interpretation of everyday interactional reality.

Identity is then, an other than conscious directive which guides perception and perceived compliance in day to day mundane reality. It encompasses the entire experiential periphery, incorporating all roles at all times. If it were otherwise, an individual identity would be one thing at one time and a different thing at another time. This is not to deny that identity cannot change but it is to question if change is ever complete.

At the level at which identity resides, reflection, analysis and abstraction are instantaneous. The situation 'is', and it 'is' according to the consolidated network of meaning and historicity that has been derived from what has been familiar and what is still perceived as being familiar. What mediating intentions follow immediate and spontaneous situation

of interaction are governed by identity, they are not identity.

We can talk about operative identity as being the synthesizing mechanism of self which provides a focused and particular world view. We can talk about identity as having its basis in reflections of past experiences as they pertain to current situations. We can talk about identity as providing us with knowledge of 'our' social reality and giving us a paradigmatic value of social experience. But, when we talk 'of' identity, we are making reference to the interface of the mode of social existence and the consciousness of existing. This we can call social-intentionality.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Adopting this definition of identity has potential both in discourse pertaining to identity and in praxis. At the level of discourse, it provides a fundamental level from which to make comparison between dissimilar groups. At the level of praxis it makes possible the definition of fundamental problem areas. For example, it is possible to evaluate the full potential of existing programs of social rehabilitation and also to

realize their limitations. In the area of policy, for example foster care policy, it has the potential of outlining the requirements necessary for a functional existence.

NOTES

1. This summary of the development of the micro analytic approach to identity is heavily indebted to the work of Andrew J. Weigert (1983). In "Identity: Its Emergence Within Sociological Psychology" Weigert provides the reader with a much expanded treatment of identity including both macro and micro levels of analysis.

2. It should be noted here that reference is specifically to `identity'. `I', `Me', `Self', etc., with a long founded history in philosophy and the sociological writings of Mead, although prominent in literature pertaining to identity, do not specify the conceptual nature and boundaries of `identity'.

3. While Cooley (1902) preceded Mead's (1934) attempt to describe the development of the self-concept with his discussion of the "looking-glass-self", the argument presented by Cooley is guilty of nonsensical logic. According to Cooley's argument, people see themselves as others see them as a result of learning about themselves from others. Simply stated, others act as mirrors. The process of learning about self, or indeed of learning self, involves an infinite regress of individual (read mirror) reflecting individual (read mirror). However, two reflecting plates arranged face to face, regardless of their labels, cannot produce an image. Consequently, it is not possible to translate his metaphor into practical operation. Had he delineated the process whereby feedback is subjectively interpreted the concept would have been useable.

4. Here Mead seemed to draw on Freudian tradition, the I being the result of impulse and unorganized potential. With the introduction of social constraints, expression shifts from the realm of the I to the realm of the Me, or in Freudian terminology, from the id to the ego or super ego since id determines action only through interaction with ego or super ego

where ego and super ego are oriented towards social constraints.

5. George Pearson "Fitting in the Returned Man", reprint from Macleans Magazine issued by the Department of Public Information for Repatriation Committee, 1918.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHICS OF SUBJECTS

ACHIEVED RANK	YEARS OF SERVICE	YEARS SINCE LEFT SERVICE
Captain	30	13
Major	31	3
Lt. Colonel	23	12
Lt. Colonel	30	9
Major	30	15
Major	28	10
Captain	13	7
Corporal	15	12
Master Corporal	25	14
Major	35	5
Major	30	6
Second Lt.	27	12
Master Corporal	26	10
Mstr. Warrant Officer	27	9
Major	27	7

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Overall, the structure of the interview was designed to draw out the subjective nature of the individual experiences of being in the military, the transition from the military to civilian life, and being ex-military. Although this goal was preestablished, the process of gaining the data was not always in the same order. Often the respondent was allowed to direct the conversation within these bounds. However, certain prompts were employed and the opening question was always the same. The following acted only as a tentative guide.

Interview opening: Could you tell me what you went through, that is, what you felt and what you experienced when you left the military? Try to remember what you thought and what you felt at the time.

Probes:
- was there anything that was particularly confusing?
- were there any instances that created apprehension?
- tell me what you were doing during this period?
- were you aware of any changes in yourself?
- what made you realize this about yourself?

these probes were employed throughout the interview as the topic related to the three areas of in the military, the transition, etc.

It was often the case that questions and probes were the product of the conversation. Other questions posed at the appropriate time included:

What would you consider a major difference between military and civilian life?

What advice would you give to someone about to leave the mlitary?

Is there anything different about the decision making process?

Do you still have your old uniform?

Tell me about the rank system and the structure of the armed forces.

APPENDIX C

REPRESENTAITIVE EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS

Respondent A

[DB] Could you tell me what you went through and what you experienced when you left the military, what you thought and felt at this time?

[R] I suppose um ah that it there um ah there's there's a ... traumatic shock is far too strong ...there certainly is a change in atmosphere and lifestyle but it depends to some extent on what you were doing while you were in the military. Um I was a navigator and I found when the eh time eh came to leave the military although I enjoyed my trade and would like to have continued in eh it at that time there wasn't much of a need for an old navigator. Technology had overtaken me. There really wasn't the opportunity to continue that trade. Other people in the military didn't experience the same problem ...

[...]

You need to find a unique niche.

[DB] What about at the social level? Did you find you had to make some adjustments - not so much in the job market, just the social aspects of civilian life?

[R] Not a great deal eh no of difference, I don't think so. For one reason I had come back from another country, I was in --- to where I had been assigned before that so I still knew some people in the community and my children went back to schools where they had been before. Had some friends ... to who they could relate. There was enough of a gap in there that their friends had moved away. Anyway, it gave them a sort of a start point, if you will. They didn't feel they were moving into a complete strange ... environment if you will and eh, so they were able to adapt reasonably well ... There were some, some adjustments. For myself I eh came back to a community I was familiar with. I guess again it comes again back

to a social again it comes back to economics from being paid a military salary to being paid a pension until I was able to find new employment. Although you speak of the social adjustments and so on the economics are I think, the economic is a large portion of it. The social part is driven by the economic situation.

[DB] What about personal adjustments?

[R] Well in the eh ... ha ha ... funny you should mention it ... eh I didn't notice a great deal of difference in the work place. No difference in the structure. Any business is run in a hierarchical fashion. They might like to pretend that they don't but a fact of life is that they do. There's a boss, there's a supervisor and there's a worker.

[DB] Were there any situations which you found uncomfortable?

[R] Eh ... not really, again, part of the military experience, it's, it's, although I was a navigator and I was flying I did have a number of desk jobs that relate quite closely to any desk job... so you carry that through with you. I guess one of the frustrating things is that civilian employers don't often recognize that we have that kind of experience in the military. Again, you don't have a string of letters behind your name to show it so it's a matter of finding an employer who will accept you and allow you to demonstrate it and allow you to work your way back up through the chain in your second career.

Respondent B

[R] The only reason I left the military ... why I guess I must give you a little bit of a background about to start with is the fact that I had not really planned to get out of the service at the time that I did get out. Unfortunately it was the way the whole transfer from point A to point B, namely --- to --- happened. I knew that I eh was going from one element, namely the RCAF to the Army side of it ... but my Dad was with them for a good period of years so I knew all about the Army as well as the Airforce. But unfortunately the unit I was transferred to --- did not make for good planning or anything along that line. It was ---, which is strictly infantry, and after being twenty four and a half years in the Airforce that's a big big road block I'll tell you. I mean it's something you don't expect to see but when it comes it comes. As a result they have a tremendous amount of regulations and all sorts of things that you don't even see in any of the other two services really. I said I was getting out...

[...]

I had just gotten into --- or that area... I had never been there in my life. It was my first time in ---. So this proved quite a bit of a problem. My first nine months were no work. I couldn't find anything to go in or anything like that. So that made it really hard ... to get out from a twenty four, eh twenty five year job ... into nothing .... And then I started looking for work right after that and I finally got a job with --- as a janitorial foreman with a starting salary [that was minimal]. So you know all these things compiled together doesn't make it for the best way to get out of the service. But after this was passed by and so on and so forth then everything got back to normal. And the getting out in to the service, it didn't seem to bother me that much myself in so far as going from one civilian mainly, to, from, one military to civilian because I took the service with a great deal of pride and I got a, got a tremendous amount of discipline out of it and everything else and I will value that all my life.

Respondent C

[DB] In the military your insignia commands deference, could you comment on that?

[R] It doesn't bother me and eh I think if you look around just in society today uh there is this difference I guess. It's, it's eh there ... we call the CEO of the corporation by his first name and he calls us by our first names eh like right here ...

[...]

the deputy minister is referred to as --- and you talk to --- or whoever ...

[DB] Did this take some getting used to when you left the forces?

[R] Eh no, I think what has happened in the military, well in the area I was in eh these changes were seen, they were either coming from without eh or eh developed within. Though the rank structure was there ... eh ... I think when people ... really eh ... they wanted to go up in the rank structure but they had a job to do and once they started viewing the job as a nine to five job then they eh found ... I know we had to caution our subordinates ... and we would be cautioned ... that eh ... the military really didn't want people getting on first name basis, where the eh ... I'd be flying and the crew would be in the back of the aircraft and someone would say "hey ---". If we got into a tight situation ...

[...]

eh um, if we got into a tight situation very definately the more rigid structure ... "sir, we got a problem" but if it was just normally flying along, you know, a nice day, someone would say "[first name] do you want a cup of coffee?''

Respondent D

[DB] Could you tell me what you went through and what you experienced when you left the military. What you thought and felt at this time?

[R] Well the eh, eh, I was very lucky perhaps because we were prepared, both my wife and I, I emphasize wife and since it's not something you do by yourself eh the family has to get ready ... and if you have kids they have to get ready ...

[...]

I in fact was stationed, my last posting was in --- and I bought a house, our first house about two years before I got out. I had a job and I had every intention of remaining in ---. However, two offspring had decided to go to western Canada so my wife decided we should be at least relatively close ...

[...]

So I threw all that up. Best layed plans eh? Then we moved back to Edmonton where we'd been stationed [before] ...

[...]

It didn't take very long to find a job.

[DB] When you leave the service is there any attempt to maintain ties with the military?

[R] I guess there's, there's a, a time when you don't want to give up your social contact with the military ... especially if you retire ... in the same area where you were last stationed ... um ... and then you also try to build something new because you are meeting new people. Uh, in my case I retained the link back to the service because I belonged to the golf club on the base and I didn't, I didn't keep my contacts into the officers mess.

Respondent E

[DB] Did you find anything particularly different about civilian life or civilian ways of doing things?

[R] Well, easy more, I thought it was easy going ..... it was sort of eh certainly a different way of life. Nobody ... throughout our career were always told you guys in the military, Christ you got it made, don't do anything. I worked a hell of a lot harder in the military than I do in this job ...

[...]

[This] is a nice easy relaxed way of life compared to the military. ... And military people are ... eh are ... or civilian people I should say ... dead honestly, we found them very boring. We found them very boring ...

[...]

We still prefer, if we want to go and have a drink and a good time, I'll go, it's with the military. We enjoy that a lot more than the normal civilian function. Why I don't know. I spent 27 years with it. ... It's hard to shake I suppose ...

[...]

Nothing I can say really upset me or was really different. I can honestly say that ...

[...]

[DB] Could you tell me about the discipline in the military?

[R] Well okay, that opens up another little thing about what you can get away with in a civilian job as opposed to what you have in the military. There is disicpline ... And you need it in the military. But I don't know ... there really don't ... there's really no, not too many damn problems. It suprised me you know. I always thought I would miss it. I did like it. Christ. Yet it never happened. Once in a blue moon I see a jet go by or something and I think, gheez, I wish I was up there.

Respondent F

[...]

[DB] How do you feel you were ill prepared?

[R] Eh ... of what to expect when I got out ... eh ... I feel that the military has ... a tendency ... to make you feel you are not ... eh ... qualified ... to eh ... obtain employment in ... outside ...

[...]

[DB] Was there a time in the process of leaving that you felt anxious?

[R] No ... I don't think so. It was very smooth ... Eh. I eh, in fact ... wasn't officially out when I came to work because I was on my ... eh ... leave and I didn't have to report back to the military.

[...]

[DB] Was there any adjustment at the social level?

[...]

[DB] The military seems to have a very self contained social life ...?

[R] There is a very self contained social life. There's no doubt about it. Your, your, your social life is more or less eh manufactured for you, if you want to use that term, in the military. ... However, I think it's a case of uh ... with me ... and I can only talk from my experience in general. I had rather ... eh ... I suppose once again a unique experience, I was in --- for 4 years [where] I lived in, what they term, on the economy.

[...]

[In that time] I got away from the normal military style of life.

Respondent G

[DB] In the military there seems to be a very rigid structure. Could you comment on this? For instance, does it require any adjustment?

[R] No I don't think so. I went through, went through Manning depot back in the fifties ...

[...]

After you left training and you got to a base you had to be at work at eight o'clock. It was like a civvy job. You had to get yourself up in the morning. Not like the Navy. The Navy still even when your, after your training, ... when your on the, on the base they woke you up by six o'clock and you had to be in the mess by six thirty and you had to be out of there by seven. The airforce wasn't like that.

[...]

The rules are there. You had to make sure you wore your uniform and a proper one. And you had to salute people at the proper time ... and you had to go on parades and eh you had to make sure your barrack room was clean and you had to go on inspections once a month. That's a little bit different than civvy side but you get used to it.

Respondent H

[DB] Could you relate how you felt when you left the military, what were your experiences when you left?

[R] Basically, for the most part, eh, a lack of comradeship, a closeness that we had while we were in the military. Most of us here are ex-military but still we do not have the closeness that we would have in a military unit. That is a big difference ... you just don't find it anywhere on ... eh ... civvy street.

[DB] Did you try to find this comradeship when you left the military, in the Legion for instance?

[R] No, I have some difficulty with the Legion. I belong to the Legion in --- but a lot of the Legion members now have had no military service at all ... and as a result of that ... eh ... although they don't have any voting powers they still hold some control over the Legion by their sheer numbers and I tend to find that just a little bit difficult to handle. So I still belong there and I know a few people. I don't attend that much ... On Rememberence Day or November 11th, I would pay a visit there.

[...]

The --- association has been most helpful to me because there are so few of us in the association. We have a system set up now where we actually go down to ---. I was down there a week ago for a social function, a number of members from [here]. It went off very well. Plus when platoons graduate eh an old soldier will go down and observe the young people in their day of work and also their passing out parade.

[DB] Is this what you feel was the main difficulty you had to cope with when you left the military?

[R] Yeah, just getting used to that.

Respondent I

[DB] I'd like you to tell me what you experienced and what you felt like when you left the forces.

[R] Eh ... To begin with I started planning to get out in --- after I finished my undergraduate degree and saw that I wasn't getting anywhere because I eh, was getting on in age and my potential for promotion, I was told there wasn't any potential. And my goal was to get a graduate degree and I couldn't get it through the Armed Forces like a person in the higher ranks. So I said well if I'm going to go through all this expense and hassle then I'm, I don't think there's a point being a corporal with a Masters degree in the Armed Forces. I just wouldn't be using it. So I, uh, while I was in the Middle East, I decided then that I was going to get out. When I got back to --- the environment was nice there for awhile so I stayed.

[...]

[DB] What about socially, were there any different aspects of the social world that come to mind?

[R] Oh Yeah! Yeah! But you see we didn't live in PMQ's. Eh ... when I got out in --- my total salary was [minimal] wife was making [a lot].

[DB] Was there periods of apprehension?

[R] Oh Gosh! Yeah. They give you all these forms to fill out and everything else.

[...]

[DB] Were there ever any feelings that leaving the military was a solitary experience?

[R] Oh Gosh! Yeah! It is. You're all on your own.

[...]

[DB] What about the matter of deference?

[R] I like it the way it is now.

[...]

[DB] Did you feel any changes occur in yourself, your perspective toward things?

[R] Eh ... I think in terms of ... my spiritual life has changed a lot more, eh, I wasn't this comitted to that when I was in the service.

Respondent J

[DB] Could you tell me about your decision making process, did this change?

[R] There's no difference really. People perceive the military to be rigid and structured. In fact there's a very strong participation of management in the military where decisions are made with consultation. There's a lot of involvement with decision making. Certainly in the arms side of the military. I remember absolutely vividly as a member of a tank crew you know almost every decision you made was a collective decision.

[...]

It was very much a team effort.

[DB] Are there anything you see as major contrasts between civilian life and the military?

[R] I think everything is different. I think eh ... I just don't think that people when they retire they expect that. I don't for the life of me understand why they don't expect it, but it comes as a suprise that everything's different from their social life to their community involvement to the way that things happen at work and it's eh it really is eh a suprise to them. Eh. But we're looking at two different situations now and I think it's important that you're clear on it. You're looking at a situation where people retire eh after spending a fair amount of time in the military their children tend to be grown up or nearly grown up and they may be going to work or they may be going to work fairly casually. They are not starting a different career and they don't have to start another career. And the ones who retire younger than that. I think the ones that retire, those people, those older people tend to go where they want to go, where their freinds are. People that retire younger, the twnety to forty group, or who just leave eh, because they didn't like the military or they just want to try something else. I think that they really get eh ... quite a shock.

Respondent K

[DB] What would you tell someone to expect when they got out? Is there anything you think they would benefit from?

[R] It's interesting you'd ask that 'cause a couple of our guys here just went on a pre-retirement session. My reaction was that that's a good thing. How to handle the physical and mental changes. How am I going to cope when I stop going to work every day and that lack of direction that might be in my life as I perceive it.

[DB] What about those who retire early from the forces?

[R] Oh yeah, they're just, they're just coming to eh the eh really useful years, yeah and I eh I was fifty when I left and in civilian life ... yeah I would think that because they are leaving earlier there's advantages and there's disadvantages. They get more career oriented if you will.

[DB] What about at the social level, is there anything in particular you would think would be useful for these people?

[R] One of the, I guess now, the, one of the points the PSO, the welfare people, made very strongly was that we shouldn't be selling ourselves short when we got out and that we would be running into a reaction that you were in the service because you were too lazy to work.

[...]

There's been some major changes in the whole military. My background says there's got to be discipline, it's got to be there. It's got to be that unquestioning, not why should I jump but only how high should I jump and I better ask that when I'm on my way up. You know, ... that will always have to be there. In civilian life, interestingly enough, there's almost none of that.

Respondent L

[DB] Did the adjustment require a conscious effort on your part?

[R] Yes! Oh Gosh! Yeah! Yeah ... conscious effort, I had some people call it that. From people who were in my class, my supervisor came in. Something as simple as my supervisor, he said to me, you have a tendency to say in class, "okay guys" and then you give them the task. He said you've got both men and women there. He said they're civilians, there not guys use another word. You know it's something as simple and subtle as the terminology that you use. For me this said, you have to have something right, you have to have a conscious effort. That leads to another thing. I think the transition for anyone who's been in the military for a number of years ... has to make a conscious effort, one to get out and one to adjust. These are two significant steps. And the getting out is the easier of the two. The adjustment, some of them don't even adjust. I've worked with some who are ex-military and still five or more years down the road as civilians have not adjusted. They have a mindset that "I told you to do that". You know that kind of a mindset, it needs to be broken. It's the mindset of um ... I guess the biggest obstacles is the uh, uh, the way one interacts with others. Not just the self mannerisms of how you sit or how you stand, how you walk, how you dress, some of them uh, still dress in military style, you know, the shoes will be ex-military or the coat will still be the green coat that he had in the military. Don't laugh, it happens. Five or more years after you'll see guys still walking around with the, the shirts that they had from the army days. I don't know if it's a comfort zone or what.

[DB] What about rank?

[R] This recognition in the Army is a form of identification. Okay, recognition would be recognition from a sense of eh ... appreciating what you've done. So I think it's more an issue of identification, all the badges etcetera.

Respondent M

[DB] Could you tell me what you felt or experienced when you left the military?

[R] Really, I had no feelings whatsoever one way or the other. I knew I was going to retire at a certain age, I ... didn't get upset about it. It was thank you for a good thirty years and look for something different.

[DB] What did you find it to be like?

[R] I did have to, I think, two other years and two other jobs before I got this one now.

[DB] Was there any periods of apprehension in that two years?

[R] No, No not really. I wasn't really concerned or upset. I found it rather a ... interesting and enjoyable experience. It was rather interesting to find how civilians, or at least I would call them civilians at that time, to find out how they were.

[DB] Did you notice any contrasts between the military and civilian life?

[R] No, not really. I went from one bureaucracy to another, just a different uniform.

[...]

[DB] What about social life?

[R] Um ... I think I've been back to the mess only twice. I didn't miss it a bit, not a bit.

[DB] Was there any times when civilian life had any small problems?

[R] No, I can't think of any

[...]

There is no loyalty in civilian life, that's one part that is different. You had your regimental loyalties. You don't have this. There is a difference, that time.

Respondent N

[DB] If you were asked to comment on the biggest difference between military and civilian life, what would cross your mind?

[R] Well, the cameraderie I guess, that's the big thing right there. That's I, that's one big thing I do miss. And I'll go, I'll go to a, not to a bar, but to a Legion or an Army and Navy and I'll seek out people I knew in the service you see and because, you talk about the same things I guess, I mean, who can I talk to here, really, about what. What I've done before.

[DB] Do you still have your old uniform?

[R] Ha! Ha! No! That went out in the garbage. My wife threw it out. My old one went. And, okay I joined the Ready Reserves, again I'm back in. I'm in the Ready Reserves eh. You get called out one day a year and they fitted me up with a new blue uniform again. Yeah! if something happens, I'll be gone. I still have quite a tie to it.

[...]

In the service it was good, it didn't matter, say, you see a uniform and you can talk to the guy, you can talk to him. Right away you get talking. Since I've got out I don't think there's a civilian I've met and it's been a long term thing.

Respondent O

[DB] What were some of the differences you noticed between the military and civilian life?

[...]

[R] So in the military you were part of a much more standard life, I found that much easier to administrate. That maybe was probably the only thing I wasn't prepared for.

[...]

You don't have the same sense of belonging.

[...]

[DB] What about the uniform, when you give it up is there a feeling of anonymity?

[R] A little bit, a little bit. You can turn it around the other way also. That eh, it's much easier to, to eh, position yourself in the service because it doesn't matter where you came from because you were wearing your rank externally where internally in this road. Nobody wears any stripes or any way to identify that sort of ... that is ... you can't identify him.

[...]

[DB] What about flying planes?

[R] The exhiliration, that is something I miss. From time, time to time you think well just to get away from all this God Damn shit, you know. The big thing is there's so much power. A lot of freedom. You betcha. It's just you and the machine. That's different. When I first went overseas your flight suit was down in your thing, you put your flight suit on and went flying, if you went to headquarters or you went to the mess you took your flight suit off and put your uniform on. If you wanted to go flying you went back and put your flight suit on. That's the way it was boy. And on the base you didn't go nowhere without a shirt and tie ... as an officer...

[...]

I've got my uniform right now. Uniform, shoes and sort of thing. It's hanging in the closet. I don't have to wear it. I don't have to do anything, but it's there. It's symbolic.